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USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

No 3, MAY-JUNE 1986

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USSR REPORT
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No 3, MAY - JUNE 1986

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the Russian-language journal RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR, published six times a year in Moscow by the Institute of the International Workers' Movement, USSR Academy of Sciences.

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EFFECT OF THIRD WORLD'S 'GREEN REVOLUTION' ON CLASS FORMATION

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 3, May-Jun 1986 pp 18-33

[Article by V. G. Rastyannikov: "On the Class Forming Processes in the Agrarian Sphere of Developing Countries of the East"]

[Excerpts] The new approaches to the study of societies of the developing countries developed in the 70's-80's open great possibilities for studying the processes of class formation. Among these new approaches we may note the following. First of all, a deep understanding of the "internal" processes of class formation in the context of the dynamics of processes of a global order. The world historical struggle between the two world systems -- socialism and capitalism--has a most active effect on the developing society which is included in the orbit of the world community. It is specifically this antagonism which ultimately determines the formulation of the main directions of the class forming processes within the societies of the developing countries.

Secondly, the specifics of the multistructure of developing society defined by its inclusion into the system of international capitalist division of labor under conditions of inequality, as a subordinate segment exploited by world capital, consists of the fact that the reproductive process in such a society is not distinguished by its integrity. Here we are dealing with the so-called "split" multistructure, under which individual phases of the reproductive process (production, distribution, exchange, consumption) of a certain traditional way of life are joined not with the next phase of the reproductive process for this same order, but assume a subordinate position in relation to the corresponding phase of the reproductive process of a historically later and more dominant order in society. Thereby, they seem to break out of the singular flow of the reproductive process for this traditional order. The most important segment in understanding the mechanism of formation of such a "split" in the multistructure, as a phenomenon of a stable order, is the concept of "regression of capital" in the peripheral zones of the world capitalist economy (MKKh), as developed in Marxism. (That is, the "reverse" evolution of capital--from productive to nonproductive, or its transformation to "non-capital"--the precapitalistic forms of production, etc.).¹ The basis for the development of this concept was the fundamental thought of K. Marx on the development of such social forms "under which the capitalist relation still does not exist formally and under which, consequently, labor is exploited by capital prior to the latter's developing into its own form of productive

capital, while labor itself takes on the form of hired labor...These transitional forms are constantly being reproduced within the bourgeois method of production itself, and are partially reproduced by it".² It is specifically the concept of "split multistructure" which allows us to most fully describe the peculiar traits of the class forming processes taking place beyond the boundaries of the specific capitalist order at the periphery of the MKKh.

Thirdly, as a reaction to the imperative need for removing the contradictions engendered by the "peripheral" form of capitalist development, the state in the current period becomes that force which has a strong effect on the economic and social processes in the agrarian sphere of the societies of developing countries. In the hands of the ruling classes, the state is a most important instrument which formulates a specific social direction and determines the scope and force of the class forming processes. Finally, class formation in the rural areas of the developing countries must be studied from the standpoints of understanding the fact that in these countries there is an interaction of systems of productive forces which are at different stages. And it is specifically the rural areas which form here the sphere of economic activity, where the contradictions defined by the principle differences in the reproductive processes inherent in different systems of productive forces are manifested most acutely. A particular place in the development of these contradictions belongs to the assimilation of productive forces mediated by the exploitative order and characteristic for the epoch of the NTR [scientific-technical revolution]. These develop as a system outside the boundaries of the liberated countries, but have a multidirectional effect on their rural areas, causing deep-seated changes in the social character here.

* * *

The dynamics of the class forming processes is characterized by a number of peculiarities in the developing countries.

Today, in the epoch of sovereign development of the countries previously enslaved by imperialism, the formulation of the question regarding the close dependence of the dynamics of such processes not only on the factors of the internal (intranational) order, but also on the regularities and determining tendencies of world development becomes current. This relates particularly to the dependence on the dynamics of the socio-economic processes within the limits of the antagonistic world systems--socialism and capitalism.

As a result, at the periphery of the world capitalist system of economic management, the formulation of new classes often takes on the character not of a linear process, but a zig-zag like process accompanied by backward movements. Each moment in the change corresponds to the displacement in the vector of forces which have a multidirectional effect "from without" and "from within" on the socio-economic situation.

The last two decades give numerous examples of such dependence. Here is one of them. Under conditions of capitalistically oriented development of agrarian economics, the scientific-technical revolution has given strong impetus to the processes of attracting private capital into the sphere of agricultural production. Here, the following two circumstances, which stem from the direct

effect of the NTR, have played their role: 1. the formulation of the intensive form of farming in agriculture on the basis of application of achievements in biological science has been marked by the peculiarity that the growth in expenditures of living labor which is inevitable at the first stages of introduction of new technology has been accompanied by a no less significant growth in the mass of the produced product per unit area. Therefore, the net income from the introduction of intensive farming with the application of high-yield varieties (VUS) of agricultural cultures has significantly increased. At the same time, the new systems of farming based on the market mechanism have also presupposed a growth in the economic interest of the owner in the introduction of labor saving technology into production. This has ensured a continued increase in the income standard;

2. The effect of the NTR has at the same time been expressed in the fact that the gap between time of production and the work period which is usually so great in farming has been greatly reduced. (For example, the vegetation period for VUS rice comprises only 3 or even 2 months as compared with the 5 months characteristic for traditional varieties). This has ensured conditions for a sharp acceleration in capital turnover and an increase in the income standard accordingly. And so capital, which before avoided the spheres of production, is now directed to it.

As a result, in the regions of the "green revolution" (for example, in Indian and Pakistani Punjab), the large landowners have made a significant step on the road to becoming transformed into agricultural capitalists.³

The energy and raw materials crisis which arose by the mid-70's in the world capitalist economy, which was exacerbated by the speculative revelry of the transnational monopolies, as well as the subsequent breakdown of the entire system of prices in the world capitalist market, significantly hindered the further influx of capital into the sphere of production in agriculture. The spasmodic increase in prices on current elements of production consumption (first fuel and mineral fertilizers, and then other products) which was not accompanied by the simultaneous adequate increase in prices on agricultural products despite state protectionist policies, significantly reduced the standard of profit on production capital. Thus, the savings of large landowners and other rural wealthy, which were previously invested in production, were again channeled into usury and mediated trade. In some cases, the rate of the money-lending percentage began to increase sharply.⁴ In other words, these "almost-capitalists", personifiers of industrial capital in farming, began to once again intensively grow into the system of the primary, worst forms of capital, whose functioning under altered conditions guaranteed a higher standard of income. (This, understandably, was only temporary, until the next displacement in the vector of "external" and "internal" forces). Thus, in the zones of the "green revolution" to a certain degree there was a change in the relation of the significance of various functions of large landowners in the reproductive process. With a relative weakening of their participation in the phase of production, there was a significant increase in their stake in the phase of distribution (by means of realization of the "bare", trade-usury monopoly).

The following law formulated by V. I. Lenin as applied to the pre-machine stage of capitalist transformation of the agrarian economy was clearly manifested in this zig-zag like movement of capital, determining the dynamics of change in the social face of the main exploitative class on the farm: "...the threads of trade capital...as well as industrial capital...are joined in the hands of the peasant bourgeoisie. The surrounding circumstances...determine which of these forms of capital will develop at the expense of the other."⁵

However, starting in the second half of the 70's, capital once again surged in the regions of the "green revolutions" into production. Here a characteristic trait of this turn became the intensive technical retooling of business management, accompanied in a number of cases by the growth in application of machines. This stage in the movement of capital was distinguished by two tendencies. First of all, the process of formation of a capitalistic production relation freed of its pre-capitalistic strata in an economy which exploits another's labor has received great impetus. Secondly, principally new conditions for the action of the law of cost have begun to arise in the zones of the "green revolution." After all, today, unlike the situation which existed prior to the start of the industrial turnover in agriculture, various groups of farms have production potential which are distinguished, aside from other things, by significantly different levels of labor production force.

Since the second half of the 70's, we have seen an ever closer interrelation between the process of formulation and distribution of capitalist production relations in the zones of the "green revolution" and an accumulation of embodied labor in the form of production means produced by modern industry. The machines being introduced in farming seem to compress the manufacture stage of development of capital, "cutting it down," and not allowing it to develop in full measure. Moreover, in many cases the introduction of machines into farm management becomes a herald to capitalist production. It acts as the material basis for the formation of capitalistic relations. It is specifically with the aid of machines that capitalism as a means of production wins economic space for itself, undermining the strata of traditional economics to its full depth. In reality, mechanization (still quite limited now), by increasing the productive force of labor, makes it possible to already now significantly increase the mass of additional product in enterprise farming. This mass begins to reach such an amount at which the owner finds himself in a position: a) to fully liberate himself of physical labor on his farm; b) place all the burden of this form of labor on hired workers; c) formulate from part of the additional product which he keeps a personal consumption fund, and turn the unused excess of this product into capital.

The rapid accumulation of embodied labor in the zones of the "green revolution" undoubtedly strengthens the material conditions for the development of capitalist production in agriculture, confirming the regularity established by K. Marx: "...a change in the material form (of production--V.R.) comprises the basis for the development of a capitalist relation, an adequate form of which thus corresponds to a certain degree of development of the productive forces of labor."⁶ The conditions for formulating the very face of the farming bourgeoisie also change accordingly. The main motive for its economic activity becomes the increase in capital on the basis of exploitation of hired labor.⁷

A qualitative peculiarity of the class formation dynamics in societies of the developing countries is the intensive transition from spontaneous processes of formation and development of classes to those which are directed, regulated "from above", and fermented by the state.

The state in developing countries today is taking on an ever greater number of economic functions in the national economic organism. By ensuring the integrity of the mechanism of its reproduction, it acts as the regulator and connecting link between the reproductive processes in certain subsections of production which are not economically tied together and which are related to different structural forms. Moreover, the state becomes the subject of relations of ownership, transforming the social face of the broadest strata of the population in the direction determined by the social nature of the given state.

The "green revolution" directed by the state is performing deep transformations in the peasantry. As a process which presupposes the production of exclusively exchange value, the "green revolution" in the course of its development destroys some forms of traditional natural relations on the farm to their foundation, adapting others for purposes of the greatest possible enrichment of the managing producer. Thus, it acts as a strong catalyst for individualization of the reproductive process in peasant farming and facilitates the completion of its exclusion from the residual forms of the communal "collective production."⁸ Thus, the "green revolution" frees the peasant farm from the system of natural ties in the form of traditional exchange of products and services of specific labor between the farmer and his rural counter agents (artisans, "community servants"), causing the disintegration of this system. (This is happening, for example, with the system of "djadjmani," which represents this type of association in the zones of the "green revolution" in India).⁹ As a result, the processes of formation of the petty bourgeois peasantry receive a very strong impetus. The petty bourgeois peasantry is gradually included into principally new social ties. They are integrated through the mediation of the state and its social institutes into the reproductive process of the industrial-urbanist centers. Such peasantry becomes the object of state policy measures aimed at stimulating its development. It is specifically in the "hothouses" protected from destructive "external" actions that the petty bourgeois peasantry increases its economic potential.

In recent years, however, the conditions for implementation of protectionist policy in relation to agriculture have notably deteriorated in many of the developing countries. This inevitably hinders the process of formation of the petty bourgeoisie in the peasantry. The need for regulating problems associated with the heavy burden of foreign indebtedness forces these countries to accept such demands presented by the state-monopolistic capital of the West (in the person of its "supranational" financial organizations--primarily the International Currency Fund and the groups of the MBRR (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) which essentially take out of the state's hands the most important levers for influencing the reproductive process in the agrarian sphere. "Preference" is given to the forces of unlimited market spontaneity. A particularly favorable climate is created for foreign capital,

etc. In Sri Lanka, for example, the forced transition to an "open economy" led to the liquidation of the subsidies fund which had previously been allocated by the state for purposes of broader introduction of mineral fertilizers in farm management. The distribution of fertilizers now falls to the TNK (trans-national corporations). The taxes on water have increased, which has especially affected the small peasantry. The volume of state credits given to such peasants has been reduced, etc.¹⁰

Special attention should be given to the question of the mass nature of class formation processes under capitalistically oriented development, particularly among the poor population, and associated with traditional forms of organization of production.

Among the indicators describing the concept of "class," V. I. Lenin isolated, specifically, the differences between large groups of people "according to their place in the historically determined system of social production... and by their role in the social organization of labor...".¹¹ The characteristic peculiarity of the class forming process under conditions of "peripheral" capitalism consists of the fact that only a part of the poor population takes on the indications of the "new" class to an adequate degree, and certainly not the entire mass of people excluded from the previous "system of social production." In other words, the formulation of capital as an "order of social management" is accompanied by a sharp increase in the tendencies toward pauperization and declassing of significant groups of the population, which are deprived of traditional sources of means of existence and at the same time finding themselves "overboard" from capitalist production.

The "green revolution" is causing major mutations of this type in traditional economics. It is completing the expropriation of extensive contingents of the poor farm population. It is destroying the residual "guarantees of existence provided by ancient feudal institutions," in the words of Marx.¹² In reality, with the development of various forms of intensive farming oriented toward work for the market (including the world capitalist market), there is a progressive exclusion of specifically those segments of the traditional social organization which provided a greater or lesser portion of the necessary living fund to significant detachments of the exploited rural population. (These are various funds for collective consumption: communal insurance reserves in case of crop failure, natural deliveries of a product for conducting certain traditional rituals, a fund for supporting various groups of disabled in the communal population, the paternalist responsibility of the "patron" to maintain his "client" even in periods of crop failure, regardless of the number of "services" rendered by the latter, and others). The reproduction of living funds of the exploited population based on exchange value thus comes to replace the previous "reliable" natural form of such reproduction.

The process of this replacement, which reflects major changes of a socio-economic character, significantly alters the conditions for distribution of the reproduced product. In this case, the loser turns out to be the rural working masses.

In reality, the implementation of the principle of accounting for individual labor expenditures (the first requirement of commodity and, naturally, capitalist production) for an ever growing part of economic space of the agrarian

sphere must inevitably lead to "economy" of the combined fund of living capital used to pay for someone else's labor. Now, only the work time during which value is created is paid for, and not the time for "doing nothing," which was presupposed de-facto by the previous, traditional system of paying wages, and which did not distinguish between the work and free time of the worker. The new system also requires greater intensity of labor from each individual worker involved in production, often with an increase in individual wage rates. This is what determines its economic effectiveness: the same amount of work is now performed not only by fewer workers, but also for less total wages than was the case under traditional forms of production organization. The price for this effectiveness is the expulsion of part of the workers from the production process, i.e., the intensification of relative overpopulation of the farm and growth of agrarian pauperism. The emerging "economy" in the total wage fund in significant part is used to replenish the fund for additional product kept by the exploiters who utilize someone else's labor. Under the influence of the "green revolution" there is, consequently, such a change in the social organization of labor on the farm in which the historically progressive process of liberating workers from the bonds of traditional collectivist ties is accompanied by an actual deterioration in the living conditions for most of them.

* * *

In evaluating the intensity of the class forming processes, an important political criterion is the class struggle. V. I. Lenin always gave this criterion primary importance. He often stressed the idea that "the class is a concept which is formed in struggle and development," that "the class grows on the soil of the class struggle, and we must help it to mature."¹³ The degree of participation of a certain social group occupying a definite place in the system of social production and in the class struggle on the basis of its immanent interests, is a rather precise indicator of the class maturity of the given social group.

In the broad spectrum of problems concerning the involvement of various classes and their individual strata into the processes of the class struggle, the researcher should give particular attention to the questions of the means of eroding the traditional social consciousness and the formulation of a new one which corresponds to the current tendencies of the economic process and the class dynamics. The main characteristic trait of such a transformation in social consciousness in the developing society is that this process is defined not only by the factors of "domestic" (intranational) development, but also the factors of an "external" order--world development, which is becoming a "domestic" imperative of the social evolution of developing countries.

Thus, in the current epoch--an epoch of sharply increased and qualitatively changed world contact (which is facilitated by the formulation of national statehood on the former colonial periphery of the capitalist world on one hand and the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution on the other), the societies of the liberated countries are undergoing an intensive break-up of the entire system of demands. The formation of a new system of demands here is

caused by processes taking place not so much within these same societies, as outside them, in world centers of production progress which are "foreign" to them, and in the main centers of the scientific-technical revolution. "The measure of richness or poorness is not only the absolute number of objects owned, but also the degree of their correspondence to the system of demands of the worker which is developed at the given moment. In the "third world" the system of demands grows faster than the means for satisfying them. Thus, the demonstrative effect under current conditions of consolidated social contacts in the world is engendered sooner by the state of production in the developed countries than in the developing ones."¹⁴

Today, active conductors of new demands (specifically those capable of materializing into objective elements of personal consumption) are becoming the TNK, which are involving into their sphere of influence in the developing countries ever greater masses of the local population, primarily urban, but in a number of countries--already part of the rural population as well. Entering into the economic structure of the country which accepts them, they "may intensify the inflationary pressure and unemployment, deform the distribution of production resources and facilitate the leading growth of desires relating to the capacity of the economy for satisfying them". And, at the same time, they develop "such consumer demand as is considered socially 'inappropriate',¹⁵ forcing the already existing deep disproportion between production and consumption in the developing world.

In the rural areas of many of the developing countries, the direct "conductor" of the demonstrative effect of the system of demands of "industrial" society is the "green revolution", which is accompanied not simply by the sharp increase in the disparity in levels of income of various population groups, but also the significant contemporaneity in consumption by the upper strata of rural society which is growing more wealthy. The social face of agricultural workers also changes significantly. A research group at the U.N. Institute of Social Development which studied the effects of the "green revolution" noted that: "The formation of such a rural proletariat is notable in several respects. First of all, families which are torn away from the traditional farm insurance fund go hungry today not when there is a crop failure, but when they cannot find work. Secondly, the growth in the wealth of large land-owners which is put up for show may intensify the feelings in the poor that they are deprived of everything. As a result, hidden conflicts turn into open ones. Thirdly, the political potential of the poorest group is liberated from the influence of control factors inherent in the traditional relations. This intensifies the consciousness of the fact that collective actions better serve the goals of providing the means for living than does faith in the relations of dependence on a patron who is not kindly disposed to making concessions."¹⁶

Since the 70's, the problem of organizing unions of the rural poor, particularly farm workers, is more often taken to an international level. These problems are included in the agenda of various international forums.¹⁷ And this is not only the collective reaction of many countries of the world community (including also the developing countries) to the imperative need for including the huge inactive human potential of the developing world into the processes of economic development.¹⁸ This is also the internationally accepted acknowledgement of the ever growing participation of the rural poor in the developing countries in the social conflicts at the peripheral zones of the world capitalist economy.

World and domestic processes which cause the erosion of traditional social consciousness in the rural working masses are currently taking place with such force that we may say the following without exaggeration: history has compressed the time of formulation of the new, class-oriented social consciousness of the exploited groups of people and has thereby predetermined a more rapid rate of the class forming processes in the rural areas of the developing countries than was ever observed before.

FOOTNOTES

1. For more details, cf.: Krylov, V. V. "The Capitalistically Oriented Form of Social Development in the Liberated Countries (Toward a Methodology of Marxist Research). RK i SM, 1983, No 2, p 20-37.
2. Marx, K. and Engels, F. Sochineniya (Collected Works), Vol 48, p 29.
3. At the initial phases, a non-conjunction of the individual phases was characteristic for this process. The modernization of production often significantly preceded the processes of modernizing personal consumption by these "almost capitalists," remaining for the most part prestigious-traditional. By the late 60's, in the first peak of the "green revolution", in Indian Punjab only prestige expenditures dictated by the standards of traditional social psychology comprised around 30% of all expenditures for personal and productive consumption by the large landowner-employers. The purpose of intensively modernizing production consisted to a significant degree of satisfying the demands of traditional consuming wealth, and not of expanded reproduction of capital. (Cf. Deb P. C., Agrwa, B. K. Green Revolution and Expenditure Pattern in Rural Punjab. Society and Culture. Calcutta, 1972, Vol 3, No 1, p 4).
4. Cf., for example: Arrested Green Revolution ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL WEEKLY, Bombay, 1975, Vol 10, No 25-26, p 944-945.
5. Lenin, V. I. Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy (Collected Works), Vol 3, p 69-70.
6. Marx, K. and Engels, F. Sochineniya, Vol 49, p 90.
7. As shown by the materials from a survey of one Punjab village which had undergone the transition from traditional methods of economic management to capitalistic methods, with a relatively significant introduction of mechanisms into farming practice (for example, in 1976 40 percent of the land in the village was worked by tractors, etc.), already in the second half of the 70's the effect of the market mechanism on the village reached such force that it "introduced radical changes into the way of thinking of the owner-landlords." As a result, now "the increasing savings are used for increasing the income of the farm, while the growing income in turn serves to increase the accumulation of capital. Both of these factors mutually strengthen each other's effect" (Sucha Singh Cill, Agrarian Transformation in a Panjab Village. MAINSTREAM, Delhi, 4, III, 1978, p 13,14).

8. Cf. Marx, K. and Engels, F. Sochineniya, Vol 46, Pt II, p 445.
9. One of the observers of this process testifies: "There are changes taking place in the interpersonal relations which encompass the various caste groups. Relations of a formal agreement are coming to replace the traditional system of the "djadjmani". The natural labor wage which prevailed in the past is being replaced by monetary forms of wage payment. The practice of mutual aid (between the peasants-owners.--B.P.) and informal cooperation is rapidly declining" Sidhu, D. S. Socio-Economic Implications of Rapid Agricultural Productivity--the Experience of Punjab (IIDO--Soviet Symposium on Agricultural Productivity. May 11-13, 1982. Dushanbe), p 10.
10. This specifically was discussed in detail at the International Seminar on Questions of Agricultural Development and Food Provision held in Gardon (HPR) 13-17 October 1985.
11. Lenin, V. I. Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy, Vol 39, p 15.
12. Marx, K. and Engels, F. Sochineniya, Vol 23, p 727.
13. Lenin, V. I. Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy, Vol 40, p 309-310.
14. Krylov, V. V. On the Socio-Economic Nature of Hired Labor in the Cities of the Afro-Asian Countries. Middle (Urban) Strata in the Developing Countries of Asia and North Africa. M., 1972, Pt II, p 19.
15. Transnational Corporations in World Development. Third Overview. U.N. Center on TNC. New York, 1983, p 396,397.
16. The Social and Economic Implications of Large-Scale Introduction of New Varieties of Foodgrain: Summary of Conclusion of a Global Research Project. Geneva, 1974, p 25-26.
17. Cf., for example: Declaration of Principles and Program of Action. FAO. Rome, 1979, p 9. World Conference on Agrarian Reforms and Development of Rural Regions. Rome, 12-20 July, 1979.
18. One of the press organs of England's business circles informed its readers of the following in connection with the World Conference on Agrarian Reform (Rome 1979): "The facts gleaned from over 80 national speeches presented at the World Conference show that the governments of many (developing--V.R.) countries today view questions on the organization of farm workers in a more favorable light than before. Having been faced with the problems of rural poverty, landlessness and migration of the poor to the cities, these governments are coming to the conclusion that they cannot deal with the problems of rural development alone. Therefore, the "participation of the people" becomes a popular point in the topic of the day at the World Conference" (FAR EAST WEEK BY WEEK, L., 27.IV. 1979).

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WEST'S TURN TO SMALL MODERN FIRMS, DECENTRALIZATION EVALUATED

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 3, May-Jun 1986 pp 34- 43

[Article by A. N. Tkachenko: "On Certain Aspects of the Policies of State Monopolistic Capitalism (Small Business and Regional Problems")]

[Excerpts] In recent years in the industrial capitalist countries there has been a notable increase in attention to problems of the balanced regional development of the national economy. The interest in these questions is determined by the disproportionality of the territorial placement of the social scientific-production potential and the intensification of the negative effect of this factor on the socio-economic life of the industrial states of the West.¹ The realities of the present day are such that, along with the large territorial scientific-production complexes in these countries, there are also extensive regions with a depressive economy, real "poverty zones" where the level of socio-economic development yields significantly to the averaged indicators for the specific country. In the USA, for example, along with the highly developed states of Massachusetts, California and Texas there are the states of North Dakota and South Dakota, Montana, and Wyoming which do not have any significant scientific-production capacities. In Great Britain we may class primarily Wales and East Midland among the less developed regions, in France--the departments of the Central Territorial area, in Italy--primarily the southern portion of the country, and in Sweden--its northern regions.

The disproportionality in territorial location and concentration of production is, of course, not a new problem. It is an integral element of the entire historical development of capitalism. However, until recently, the comparably stable rates of industrial growth have allowed the ruling circles of the Western countries to create the illusion of concern for balance in the geographic distribution of production capacities. Their regional policy bore a fragmentary, episodic character and was reduced more to endless discussion of the problem than to its satisfactory practical solution. Having not outlived to this day the faults inherent in it, it nevertheless, starting with the second half of the 70's when the GMK (state monopolistic capitalism) entered an extended period of general deterioration in the basic conditions of the reproductive process, began to take on clearer contours. In the search for a way out of the increased socio-economic contradictions, the ruling circles of the industrially developed countries are trying to use all available resources and to mobilize the additional forces of private enterprise. In the resulting situation, the economic and

socio-political influence of those groupings of business which function on the periphery of the national economy, including the owners of small and medium-sized companies, has begun to increase. At the same time, in the leading capitalist states the demands by progressive forces and various trade union organizations are increasing for the accelerated economic development of the depressed regions.

In the course of implementing its regional policy, the GMK pursues the most varied goals. These are of a political, social and economic character. Specifically, the complex of implemented measures is associated with the solution of such an important problem for capitalist society as the more effective application of the scientific-production potential which already exists and which is being developed. In turn, the achievement of this goal requires the more balanced territorial-spatial location of production capacities and consequently also investment currents which are balanced within the framework of the entire national economy and in which the most promising achievements in science and technology are materialized. Today, however, due to regional distortions in the concentration of production capacities it often occurs that the activation of investment activity in the industrial centers does not entail its expansion at the periphery of the national economy.

The production specialization which has previously arisen in the peripheral regions meets the current requirements for accelerated assimilation of new scientific-technical achievements to an ever lesser degree. Having been selected at a definite stage of development of society's productive forces, it turns out with time to be either erroneously or correctly assumed. However, the variant of the prophetic choice, as historical experience testifies, is sooner the exception than the rule. Most often, regions with a predominant production specialization fall into a deeply depressive state. This is inevitable with an abrupt change in the basic directions of scientific-technical progress. "Specialized spheres," stress the specialists at the Japan Ministry of Foreign Trade and Industry, "have in recent years encountered new problems which are engendered by changes in consumer demand, intensification of internationalization of the economy, and character of the technical progress."² In reality, the economy of extensive geographical regions which are excessively and one-sidedly tied, for example in the USA and England, with the steel casting and coal mining sectors of industry are in a state of prolonged stagnation. The internal instability of Japan's prefectures, oriented toward the output of large-tonnage vessels, has increased. We may draw an analogous conclusion also regarding those cantons in Switzerland which specialize in watch production. Today many countries of the West are developing diversified production in their peripheral spheres.

The task of accelerated location of new enterprises on the periphery is not lastly determined by the need for forming additional production complexes capable of taking on the role of at least auxiliary "locomotives" of the capitalist economy. The entire current nature of such measures becomes evident when we see that four-five large industrial centers today in fact determine the "climate" of the business activity in the country and in most of the developed capitalist states ensure the overwhelming volume of output of industrial production. In Canada, for example, only two provinces--Ontario and Quebec--account for 75-80 percent of the additional value created by the country's

industry. The concentration of production existing in the large industrial centers may also be judged by the example of the region of Isle-de-France located around Big Paris and providing 22 percent of all those engaged in the French economy with work.

The fact of concentration of the overwhelming volume of industrial production in several geographical regions persistently dictates the need for continuous activity of any of the major industrial centers. However, this is specifically what the current GMK cannot achieve. The regional imbalance in the national production structure, which is expressed in the fact that the active capacities of the industrial centers greatly exceed the capacities of the extensive peripheral regions, noticeably complicates the process of adaptation of the capitalist economy to the new conditions of economic management. Specifically, without definite territorial-production changes it is difficult to achieve an increase in the level of labor productivity. "The inter-regional shifts," affirms R. Boyce, authoritative specialist from the USA, "may also affect labor productivity, and consequently be influenced by state measures on the re-location of companies from one geographic region to another."³ Such a spatial-geographic shift in functioning capital may, as reality confirms, be implemented by means of relocation of a definite portion of it from the large industrial centers to the peripheral regions, as well as by means of the accelerated development of new production capacities there by private companies.

In its regional policy on the whole, the bourgeois state is trying, if we remember the words of F. Engels, to act as the "ideal total capitalist"⁴ who cannot help but be bothered by the ever more frequent disruptions in the course of social reproduction and further exacerbations in the entire complex of socio-economic antagonisms. These circumstances force it to spend larger sums from the state budget funds for the realization of regional projects. The problems of overcoming the regional imbalance in the location of the scientific-production potential are becoming the object not only of independent intra-state actions by one country or another, but also of joint actions by the industrial capitalist countries. Inter-state coordination of such actions is being ever more widely practiced in recent years within the framework of the European Common Market (European Economic Community, EEC). Thus, the EEC, through its united finance organizations, has rendered definite assistance to the province of Bretaine in France, Vallonia in Belgium, and special zones of industrial development in Great Britain in their implementation of corresponding regional projects. The growing interest of the collective organizations of the EEC member states in the realization of certain specific tasks in overcoming the above-mentioned regional imbalance is caused by the fact that the effectiveness of their efforts today largely determines the state and behavior of a significant portion of the able-bodies population in the industrial states of the West. Being afraid of a sharp increase in social tension in individual geographic regions, the EEC is continuously increasing the volumes of its regional financial aid. While in 1975 its scope equalled 300 million ecu, and in 1979--945 million, in 1984 it reached 2.14 billion ecu (1 ecu = 0.8-0.9 dollars).⁵ This also made it possible to increase the number of financed programs. In 1983 alone, financial aid in the realization of 3,683 projects was given within the framework of the EEC. The overwhelming majority of these projects was in two countries--Italy and Great Britain.

With the increase in state expenditures for the implementation of regional programs, the system of giving government aid itself becomes more varied. It is expressed in the form of long-term loan credits, subsidies, grants, tax credits, etc. Thus, as a result of the clearly inflated standards for amorti-

zation deductions, the expenditures of the companies for machines and equipment used in special zones of development of the West German economy are reduced. And yet, the allocated funds, like the volumes of presented financial and tax incentives, are still clearly not enough for the cardinal change in the situation which has come about on the periphery of the national economy.

In noting the facts of the well-known transformation in the regional policy of the industrial capitalist countries, we cannot overlook the tendency toward reduction in the role of the central departments and the increased importance of the local and regional organs in the socio-economic development of the backward regions. Thus, in France in 1982 the central state administrative organs placed 80,540 orders with the companies, while the local organs placed 102,589 orders. Of these, 71 percent were construction orders and 6.7 percent were for long-term use commodities.

Among the principally new moments is also the increasing importance of small and medium-sized business in the regional economic development of the leading states in the West. The growing attention of the ruling circles to the economic activity of small peripheral business is not altruism on the part of the powers that be, but rather a necessitated measure. The increased role of small and medium companies in the economic life is also associated with a definite qualitative renovation of the enterprises in the non-monopolistic sector. Unlike past years, today in the capitalist production structure there has been a notable increase in the number of such small dynamic companies which have a comparatively high scientific-technical potential and are capable of successfully adapting to the rapidly changing conditions of capitalist economic management.

The widespread involvement of the non-monopolistic sector in the solution of problems of regional development is largely caused also by the growing individualization of production and consumer demand, as well as by the emergence of numerous types of specialized production under conditions of the current scientific-technical revolution.⁶ In the United States, for example, already now 75 percent of the production in the machine building complex (with the exception of automobile manufacturing) is made at enterprises oriented toward the output of only several tens, rarely hundreds of products. Such a number of manufactured products before rarely suited the large corporations. The results of a survey conducted in Japan show that the business liviathons enter the markets of specific production only after the sales volumes for the corresponding goods exceed 300 million yen.⁷ The current stage in the struggle with the regional disbalance in the economy has once again confirmed the correctness of Marx's position, according to which "...comparatively small capital is channeled to such spheres of production which large industry masters only sporadically or partially."⁸

The activation in the work of dynamic small and medium companies in geographical regions which are remote from the industrial centers (in France, for example, 75 percent of all such companies function in the provinces) often predetermines the character and rate of development of the latter. "Small business," stresses D. Hardy, deputy chairman of the Agency for Development of Scotland, "is viewed as the primary means of development of the market. The policy of stimulating this business is an integral part of our actions

directed at strengthening the positions of the small companies in industry and in the sphere of services.⁹ The experts at the Japan Ministry of Foreign Trade and Industry also hold an analogous viewpoint. "The viability of peripheral small business," they note, "is exceptionally important for these regions, and appropriate measures for stimulating the small companies are extremely necessary."¹⁰ In fact, the role of small and medium-sized enterprises as the basis for growth of the regional economy of Japan is becoming ever more notable in the course of the implementation of the large-scale administrative-financial reform which is taking place there. While on the whole throughout the country the portion of this category of companies comprises 74 percent of the employed and 56 percent of the newly created additional value in industry, in the regional cross-section this portion was as follows--industrial zones: Tokyo 70 and 52 percent, respectively; Nagoya--68 and 49 percent; the less developed regions: Tohoku--83 and 72, Shikoku--83 and 60 percent. Most of the small and medium-sized companies are oriented primarily toward final consumer demand, toward the local labor market. At the same time, as the results of the performed surveys show, for 70 percent of the small Japanese companies, 80 percent of the total hired work force is formulated from local human resources. This, undoubtedly, increases the social importance of the economic management practice of enterprises in the non-monopolistic sector operating in a specific geographic region.

The sharp exacerbation of the employment problem in backward regions and its huge social significance motivated the ruling circles of the USA to develop 75 local centers for rendering certain aid to the non-monopolistic sector in the country between the 70's and 80's. In the period of 1979-1982 they gave small companies credits in the sum of \$2 billion, which specifically made it possible to increase the contingent of workers by 130,000 people. Similar organizations were created in Great Britain, Sweden, France, and the FRG. The contribution of small and medium business into the creation of new work sites turned out to be so significant that it created the illusion of the possible and complete elimination of unemployment in the eyes of some bourgeois economists. G. Matthewson, director of the Agency for Development of Scotland, also did not avoid this error. He was quick to announce that: "I am sure that in 10 years the problem of employment will be solved through the efforts of the small companies which are emerging in the sphere of services as well as in the highly technological spheres."¹¹

In reality, the non-monopolistic sector, of course, cannot correct the difficult situation which has arisen on the labor market. The annually increasing number of newly formed small enterprises merely facilitates a certain reduction in the social tension. If, for example, at the beginning of the 70's in the American economy there were 450,000 companies created every year, at the present time there are 600,000 to 700,000. The continuous formation of more new companies, part of which undergo bankruptcy, inevitably steps up the process of attracting an additional work force. According to the evaluations of the well-known American consulting firm "Dunn and Brandstreet", in the USA the portion of small companies in 1985 accounted for 80 percent of all the new jobs created in the national economy. From this it is clear how difficult it would be for the current GMK to operate without actively working companies in the non-monopolistic sector in the local labor markets. "The strengthening of the positions of small companies is determined," in the opinion of specialists

Newcastleshire University K. Gallager and H. Stuart, "by their growing influence on the entire economy in the period of the 70's, when the portion of those employed at their enterprises increased for the first time after a 40-year decline."¹² The study performed by the Ministry of Industry and Trade in Great Britain showed that the portion of the work force in companies with less than 200 employees today comprises 25 percent of the country's gainfully employed population, while 10 years ago this portion equalled only 15 percent. At the same time, the same category of companies increased its portion in the development of new types of products and production methods in 35 basic sectors of the processing industry from 10 to 17 percent.

The activity of small companies with high scientific-technical potential has a most notable effect on easing the acuteness of the employment problem in individual geographic regions. "The growth of employment caused by the introduction of leading technology, affirm the American specialists R. Rich, D. Hacker and G. Bargen, "may have a great effect on the development of the local economy."¹³ In this connection, the example of the "Silicon valley" in California and "Highway No 128" near Boston, Massachusetts is most notable. The mass appearance of small companies, primarily in the electronics industry, led in 1974-1979 to the formation of 75,000 additional jobs in the suburbs of Boston alone. The 33 percent increase in employment in this region made it possible to somewhat reduce the local army of unemployed. The same thing happened also in a number of other regions of the American economy, where dynamic small companies broadly expanded their activity. The growth in employment figures from 1974 through 1979 comprised: in California--29 percent, in the state of New York--25, in New Jersey--23, in Florida--22, in Texas--14, and in Michigan--8 percent. This total increase in employment, achieved only at individual periods of time in certain geographic regions, of course does not depict all the dramatism of the situation arising in the labor market. It does not show that at the same time many large corporations, in the course of optimization of their production, are conducting mass lay-offs of workers, or that the army of unemployed is being replenished by the work force of small enterprises which have gone bankrupt.

Moreover, the "influx" of the work force from the industrial centers to the periphery of the national economy¹⁴ and its distribution in relation to a few groups throughout the small companies makes it possible to weaken--and this fact should be particularly stressed--the scope of the strike movement in the country. As a result of the surveys conducted in a number of states of the industrial West, it was determined that the intensity of organized demonstrations by the working class for their rightful demands declines with reduction in the size of the operating companies themselves. The clarification of this fact helps to expose additional motives for state support of small companies functioning in backward geographical regions. Under the conditions of the GMK, the computerization of technological processes and the automation of production bring not only mass lay-offs for the proletariat. The introduction of the latest technology, which makes it possible to create profitable mini-production, is also directed at weakening the activity of the workers and trade union movements. It is specifically these motives and goals, and not altruism and philanthropy by those in power, as the bourgeois apologists vainly try to prove, that are often the basis for that portion of regional policy which is called

upon to step up the participation of small and medium-sized companies in it. The real social state of affairs to one degree or another permeates all the directions of state regional policy which touches upon the investment, scientific-technical, and financial-administrative activity of the non-monopolistic sector.

We must also note that in this sector the duration of the work day is significantly longer than at enterprises owned by the monopolies. Also, the working conditions are significantly worse and the deductions for social needs are extremely low.¹⁵

However, all this "weighty" evidence in no way alters the nature of capitalism. Even the journal BUSINESS WEEK admits that in 85 percent of the companies whose stock is owned today by the hired personnel, the workers are deprived of the right to vote and cannot influence the making of any specific decisions. The widely acclaimed American economist, Nobel Prize recipient P. Samuelson spoke out very frankly on this matter: "Such borrowing of funds in its different variants makes it possible to obtain new and cheaper bank credits. As concerns the emerging social advantages, these remain an illusion."¹⁶ While presently creating the myths about the possible social partnership of labor and capital, largely with the aid of small regional business, the "establishment" is at the same time trying to somewhat weaken the numerous contradictions in the most varied spheres of economic life which have arisen in their states. And the efforts at solving the presented problem are being made at the regional as well as at the international levels. It is enough to say that in 1975-1982 the European Fund for Regional Development alone gave aid in the realization of over 4,000 projects. Ninety-four percent of these exceeded 10 million ecu in cost (8-9 million dollars), and their primary participants were small and medium-sized companies of the EEC member states. It is quite indicative in this connection, that the expenditures of this integrated grouping of Western Europe for stimulating small business significantly exceed even its expenditures for the development of agriculture. While over 8 billion ecu were spent in the period of 1975-1983 for the first purpose, 4.7 billion ecu were spent for the second. With the exacerbation of all the internal antagonistic contradictions of the capitalist system, the collective financial policy of the European Economic Community is taking on an ever more clearly expressed social directionality and represents nothing other than one of the forms of forced reaction to the worsening of mutual relations between labor and capital. "In trying to adapt itself to the changed situation," stresses the new edition of the CPSU Program, "the monopolistic bourgeoisie is constantly maneuvering."¹⁷ Subordinating its regional policy to this goal, the current GMK changes its tactics in relation to the non-monopolistic sector, allowing at times the activation of those firms in small business whose scientific-productive potential it strives to utilize for strengthening the overall positions of the old society.

The currently implemented regional policy of imperialism has not given, as before, any serious positive results. Even the bourgeois economists themselves have been forced to acknowledge this fact. "Despite the high expenditures for the past 25 years," states, for example, the influential British newspaper FINANCIAL TIMES, "the regional policy in Great Britain has not been able to liquidate the inter-regional imbalances."¹⁸ In reality, the measures taken by the GMK are capable of easing the acuteness of the socio-economic problems

for only a short period of time. However, the achievement of even this goal, in the opinion of many western authors, is justified under the circumstances of the intertwining and mutual intensification of cyclic and structural crises. And in this respect, regional policy is undoubtedly a half-measure, a palliative to the solution of the growing antagonisms of current state monopolistic capitalism. At the same time, even the insignificant activization of regional policy inevitably gives rise to new contradictions. Among these, it counterposes the realization of all-national economic programs to regional projects. Clearly inconsistent and internally contradictory, it tightens even more the already tight knot of the numerous socio-economic antagonisms of capitalist society.

FOOTNOTES

1. American specialists R. Tiller and R. Bednarchik, in particular, note that: "The existing significant differences between the regions may influence the geographic structure of unemployment and give rise to serious problems at the regional as well as at the national levels". (Cf. JOURNAL OF REGIONAL SCIENCE, November 1983, p 479).
2. Ministry of International Trade and Industry. White Paper on Small and Medium Enterprises in Japan 1983. Tokyo, 1983, p 91.
3. Hearings before the Subcommittee on General Oversight and Minority Enterprises of the Committee on Small Business. House of Representatives. 96th Congress, 1st Session. Washington, 1979, p 277. The computations of American econometricists show that the improved territorial location of material-production resources would make it possible to increase labor productivity in the national economy by 20 percent, while the growth of capital-labor ratio would make it possible to increase it by only 15 percent, economy on the scope of production would increase it by 13, and increase in skill level of the work force would increase it by 12 percent. (RESEARCH MANAGEMENT, July, 1982, p 40.)
4. Marx, K. and Engels, F. "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" (Collected Works), Vol 20, p 290.
5. The regional policy of the EEC is also undergoing other changes. Thus, the Commission of the European Community in November 1983 introduced for consideration by the European Council new proposals on the review of the regional policy of the EEC. Among the most important of these were: the expansion of the functions of the European Fund for Economic Regional Development and the gradual transition from aid in financing individual projects to the subsidy of contracts on multi-year programs.
6. Noting the clear aspirations by a number of large U.S. corporations for consolidating their enterprises, the influential organ of American business circles, BUSINESS WEEK, wrote: "AT&T, FMC, and General Electric are espousing a new philosophy. They are replacing their huge production complexes with new and smaller plants." To this list of monopolies we may add the corporations Hewlett-Packard, Emerson Electric, Callmorgan, and others.

According to the results of a survey of 410 major industrial corporations in the USA, the average size of their enterprises has undergone the following changes: prior to 1970--these were plants with 644 employees, in the period of 1970-1979--241 employees, and in the early 80's--210 employees. With all their conditionality, the presented data nevertheless allow us to define a predominant tendency toward reduction in the size of the enterprises. (Cf. BUSINESS WEEK, 22 October, 1984, p 60, 64).

7. MOL, 1984, Vol 22, No 2, pp 65-70.
8. Marx, K. and Engels, F. Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy, Vol 23, p 640.
9. BRITISH BUSINESS, 19 October, 1984. p 260.
10. Ministry of International Trade and Industry. White Paper on Small and Medium Enterprises in Japan 1983. Tokyo, 1983, p 91.
11. THE DIRECTOR, August 1983, p 28. In 1982 in Scotland over 8,000 small companies were created. In 90 percent of these, the number of employees did not exceed 100 persons. Companies of this size provide work for almost 1 million people, while the entire Scottish economy employs 1.8 million people.
12. BRITISH BUSINESS, 13 July, 1984, p 390.
13. OCCUPATIONAL OUTLOOK QUARTERLY, Spring 1984, Vol 28, No 1, p 36.
14. One of the examples of this is the process of redistribution of the work force taking place in the economy of the FRG, in whose peripheral regions the employment increased, for example in 1975-1980, by 5.6 percent, while in the industrial centers of the country it declined by 0.7 percent. (Cf. REGIONAL STUDIES, October 1983, p 323).
15. Cf. for more detail: RK and SM, 1984, No 3, p 37.
16. BUSINESS WEEK, 15 April, 1985, p 56.
17. CPSU Program. New edition. Moscow, 1986, p 17.
18. FINANCIAL TIMES, 25 January, 1985, Survey: "Regional Development", p 1.

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SEEMINGLY APOLITICAL CHARACTER OF FRENCH YOUTH DISCUSSED

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 3, May-Jun 1986 pp 82-89

[Article by I. P. Onyshchuk: "Certain Tendencies in the Development of Social Consciousness of French Youth in the 80's"]

[Excerpts] It has been almost 20 years since the famous French "May of 1968". The subsequent years have brought the country serious economic and socio-political changes and, as a result--definite social-psychological shifts in the consciousness of people of different generations.

This article makes an effort to interpret the social-psychological changes which have taken place in the hearts and minds of the children of the French rebellious generation from 1968 to the mid-80's. The age bracket of the young generation in most cases is limited to the period of between 18 and 25 years of age, but most of all the starting point is taken as 16, and the ending--as 30 years of age. Both limits are used in France in statistical and sociological overviews. Today in the country there are 10,382,968 people ranging in age from 18 to 30 years.¹ In this article, we are "pushing back" the limit to 34, since this is the age of those who were 17-18 years old in 1968. This is why, it seems to us, the need arises to delve more deeply into the social-psychological and political face of the generation of Frenchmen in the mid-80's of this century. Undoubtedly, the youth--comprised of workers, white collar employees, and students--are not uniform by class. However, it does have one common, although temporary, denominator--age and the problems associated with it, particularly in the given historical period. These problems are the unsettled state of life, the search for their place in society, and the formulation of personal and spiritual existence. All this gives persons of different social extraction certain common traits and a certain generality. Their most educated or labor trained segment "...works out...that specific youthful consciousness, that specific youthful culture, those youthful standards of behavior which are subsequently spread to the rest of the youth or, at least, are perceived by the community as being characteristic of the young generation as a whole."²

The generation which today has reached social maturity was growing up in the years of the fall of the leftist ideas of "May" and the onset of the following crisis with inflation, unemployment, reduction in social allocations, and the introduction of achievements in the NTR [scientific-technical revolution], which led to the most varied economic and socio-psychological consequences, often of

of a negative character. The youth had to make sense of this complex world. On one hand, the socio-political protest movement at the end of the 60's (either by recollections or by the stories of their parents--participants or observers in the events of 1968) left a deep impression in the soul of the new youth. On the other hand, the inconsistency of the "May" protest in its leftist forms, its inability to change the existing situation, and the social consequences of the crisis gave rise in the youth to a feeling of inconsolability, fear of loneliness, helplessness, and fear of the oncoming independent life. If to this we add the fear of the possibility of a third world war with its nuclear strikes and "star wars," we can understand the apocalyptic attitude of those who are just entering life. Specific ideals are needed to save this internally protesting and at the same time pragmatically rational consciousness. "May" supplied these, no matter how ephemeral, unrealistic and sometimes even immoral they may be. The new epoch, having compromised these ideals, gave merely the harsh truth of everyday, hard life. In what values do the young people seek their solution?

The youth, who have grown up and entered their conscious life in the epoch of general crisis, are not always able to understand the true political line of one party or another. The theoretical journal REVOLUTION published by the FCP is forced to conclude that: of the multitude of questionnaires circulated among the young people, it is clear that they live as if politics is something far away from them or from their problems. "Of course, a certain shift to the right among the students is noticeable, although in their majority the youth refuses to accept the values or the line of behavior preached by the rightists."³

In speaking of the formulation of value categories in the consciousness of the youth, we cannot overlook the effect of the means of mass information which are under the influence of the rightist forces on their ideological maturation. The questions of "youth and politics," "youth and the struggle for peace," "youth and the struggle for true democracy" not only have not left the topic of the day, but as before evoke the burning interest of various political parties--from the progressive to the reactionary--who naturally strive to attract the youth to their side. And here we must deal with one other question.

A significant portion of the youth today really does differ from the youth of yesterday by its departure from the extremes of anarchistic and leftist ideas of the late 60's-early 70's. However, in those years the youth generation, despite the differences in social origin and in its views on the means and methods of eliminating "capitalist society," erroneously equated by many with the developed "industrial society," presented to the world, even though for a short period of time, something singular, whole, united by the common desire to change everything and everyone in the name of achieving social justice. A quite different picture is characteristic for the 80's.

In this connection, we would like to acquaint the reader with the discussion presented in 1984 by the journal LA REVOLUTION on the topic of "The Youth. Removed from 1968".⁴ The participants in this discussion were P. Zarka, at one time secretary general of the Movement of Communist Youth, and today a member of the French Communist Party Central Committee, and B. Cuturier, one of the activists of the socialist party. In 1968 as well as today, the authors did not share the same opinions. Zarka believes that: "We must gain a true

understanding of the youth, since it has many faces. We have slightly more than 3 million young people who are employed, 1 million who are unemployed, and 3 million students.⁵ The consciousness of the current-day youth is formed by factors which are different from those formulating the consciousness of the youth in the 50's-60's, and we must consider this fact. The deeper and faster changes take place in the world surrounding the youth, the less one generation will be like another. We must try to define specifically what portion of the acute problems concerning all of society finds its reflection in the souls and in the behavior of the young people, Zarka believes. "We must consider the fact that that which is perceived by society as a new problem is felt by the youth to be a 'natural' environment, while they themselves are the expressors of the problems to which all society must find a solution."⁶ Thus, Zarka urges us to view the youth as a many-faced, yet somehow unified generation, joined together by its new and lawful demands.

Cuturier views the youth of the 80's somewhat differently. While previously, in the 60's, we had youth who believed that they were the bearers of their own culture which served to unify them, today the youth is not unified. It is "atomized," crushed by the weight of crisis. Part of the youth is completely marginalized, pushed out of the sphere of labor, and consequently also consumption.

Zarko categorically disagrees with Cuturier's affirmations on the "atomization" of the current youth. "When we listen to the musical style, when we delve into the serious, great aspirations of the youth toward peace and disarmament and toward the struggle against hunger, in my opinion we may discern a search for unity in all this. Society itself is disillusioned and dissociated. Yes, part of those who started to work in 1968 were included in conveyer production, because this is the way the circumstances came about. But I don't think that today's youth is "marginalized" or "atomized".⁷

We believe that the formulation of a social youth consciousness in any epoch, and particularly in one which is so filled with tensions as ours, is an extremely complex process. The youth is not always capable of seriously dealing with politics and presenting clearly formulated socio-political problems. It does not yet have sufficient social and political experience for this. However, its protest, although it is at times silent, individualistic, and sometimes taking on the form of a convulsive, uncoordinated search for a more humane society, expresses its inner desire to create an order capable of eliminating the harsh contradictions between society and the individual. However, we must stress that all the varied and not always suitable (after all, there is as a "way out" drug addiction, crime, sexual perversion, etc.) attempts at seeking self affirmation and self expression of the individual are not successful if the youth people do not have a firm foundation--the guaranteed right to labor, which may lead part of the youth, the greatest part, to the path of honest and moral existence. The capitalist order is incapable of supplying this.

The French communists are looking for the reasons why the youth have departed from politics. Considering the complexity of the period in which the modern-day youth are living, communist theoreticians are trying to define its socio-psychological status. Possibly, they believe, we should consider the fact that

the boundary between people at the most serious moment in history passes not only between the "right" and "left", but also within classes, groups and parties. We might add that the "left" electorate is sometimes more dissociated than the "right." We must also consider the emergence in mass social consciousness of the desire to formulate new values. This desire oversteps class boundaries, and does not always receive appropriate political expression. And these values, unlike the slogans of 1968, may bear not only a destructive, but also a constructive character.

Evidence of the fact that the youth is not "atomized" and is not "depoliticized" is its active participation in the so-called alternative movements which unite people according to the corporative principle, ecological, aesthetic, and culturological tasks and goals. The youth also plays a great role in the anti-war movement.

Participating in these movements, and sometimes comprising their nucleus, the youth, despite all its social and political variance, involuntarily touches upon not only purely economic problems, but also those such as democracy, the rights of youth and women, problems of equality, the struggle against the predatory economic policy of capital, the struggle for peace and against nuclear war. The youth demands provision of work. It struggles for freedom, for a better life, for the right to be the bearer of a new culture, and for solidarity and disarmament.

What conclusions can we draw in generalizing the facts of the situation which has arisen in the youth environment, and which are given by the press and the scientific research devoted to the youth? In our opinion, the definite decline in the youth movement in the capitalist world, and specifically in France, is not an indication of its total disappearance. The basis for the current decline is found in deep economic and social factors.

We must admit: on one hand, we observe the turn of youth toward the concerns of real life, toward high moral ideals, and on the other--toward violent protest which has taken on ugly forms of terrorism, often reborn into neofascism. This presents a huge danger. We must remember that the western youth and, of course, the youth of France, is not now that at least externally unified whole which it was in the late 60's-early 70's. Among the reasons determining this situation we may indicate the following:

1. The fall of the ultrarevolutionary, but internally fruitless and unrealizable ideas of "May 1968". It is no accident that the French working class, which spoke out in defense of the youth when the authorities rained police repression down upon it and declared a general strike with participation of over 10 million workers in support of it, did not accept, as the leading class in society, the utopian, adventuristic, and at times simply immoral ideas of the leftist leaders of the "rebels" in those years. Life has proven the correctness of this decision. The difficulties of the continuing economic crises which began in the mid-70's gave rise in the youth a deep disillusionment in politics and in the extremist ideals of "May of 1968", and directed its interests toward seeking new, more natural and humane values.

2. The mood of the youth, undoubtedly, is influenced by the serious complication of the international situation, the real threat of nuclear war which cannot help but be reflected in the psychology of the young generation, dividing the youth into hopeless pessimists living "one day at a time," in order to be able to "tear from life everything," and the sensitive, energetic portion of young men and girls who stream into the broad anti-war movement and other forms of protest. It is specifically this portion of the youth that holds the best traits of potential fighters for the ideals of humanity, although in their midst they too have no clear understanding of their ultimate social purpose.

3. We must consider the socio-economic consequences of the powerful technological rationalization on the wave of the NTR, which has a direct economic effect on the youth (since it is the first victim of unemployment and harsh rationalization), as well as a spiritual and psychological effect, stifling in it the creative endeavor and pushing it to the roadside of life, since it is the young people today who have the hardest time finding work, particularly that which corresponds to their potential and creative aspirations.

We cannot discount the onset of conservative propaganda, which, disguised in humanistic phrases, in reality is grooming the upcoming generation in the spirit of a return to the true bourgeois values.

All these factors to some degree explain the changes taking place in the mass consciousness of the youth of the 80's. We believe that the numerous "youth flare-ups" and "rebellions" which France as well as the other capitalist countries have known did not have such a deep-seated socio-economic and humanitarian basis as their is at the source of the present-day youth movement. The task of the communist and workers parties and all the democratic forces consists of showing the youth the true reasons for its difficulties and of directing the youth movement toward the struggle for peace on Earth and the implementation of true humane social ideals.

FOOTNOTES

1. LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR, 6-12 September, 1985, No 1087, p 24-25.
2. Galkin, A. A. Present-Day Youth: What is It? In: "Puti i pereput'ya 'poteryannogo pokoleniya;" ("Roads and Crossroads of the 'Lost Generation'") Moscow, 1985, p 9.
3. Cf.: LA REVOLUTION, 1984, Mars, No 210.
4. LA REVOLUTION, 1984, Janvier, No 203, p 56-60.
5. Ibid., p 56.
6. Ibidem.
7. Ibidem.

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IDEA OF AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS AS 'FOREIGN' PHENOMENA REJECTED

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 3, May-Jun 1986 pp 90-98

[Article by O. Z. Mushtuk: "On the Question of the Genesis of Trade Unions in Africa"]

[Text] In characterizing the basic tendencies of the current development of the revolutionary-liberation movement on the African continent, the regional Conference of Communist and Workers Parties of the Countries of Tropical and Southern Africa noted that one of the leading ones was the transition of detachments of the proletarian in many of the countries "from the economic struggle for their own rights and interests...to political actions against neocolonialism, local reaction and international imperialism."¹ The basis of this process is the growth in the social and political activity of the trade unions, which in most of the African countries where the proletarian political parties have not yet been formed, are the basic (and often the only) form of class unification of the workers. Having arisen in the Northern and Southern regions of Africa back in the first quarter of the 20th century and having subsequently received widespread recognition within the scope of the entire continent, these organizations have made an important contribution to the political liberation of the African peoples.

And under the new conditions of political independence too, the trade unions, unlike other mass organizations including political parties, have been able, despite the severe tests of an objective as well as a subjective order, to prove their viability and necessity as an integral element in the social relations and domestic political life in the young states. It is indicative that even in acute crisis situations, particularly during military turnovers when all political and social organizations were disbanded and banned, the trade unions, with rare exception, retained their right to legal existence. It would not be an exaggeration to say in this connection that in many African countries the trade unions are essentially the second (after the army) professionally organized force unified on a national scale capable of actively expressing the displeasure of the masses. In a huge degree they are a sort of social barometer of the attitude of the masses to the policies of one regime or another, and their role in the fate of the latter often turns out to be a decisive one.

It is specifically the mass anti-governmental demonstrations by these organizations which served as the political impulse in the shift of power to the

democratic forces in Burkina Faso², the Congo, Ethiopia, and other countries. Such demonstrations by the trade unions, supported by the urban lower classes and the students, often served as the source of emergence of acute crisis situations and socio-political tensions in Ghana, Egypt, Mali, Morocco, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra-Leone, Tunisia and other states of bourgeois oriented development. In a number of cases, as for example in Sudan (April 1985) they led to the fall of the anti-popular dictatorial regimes and the general democratization of the socio-political life of a certain country.

The emergence of the trade unions outside the framework of protecting the material interests of their members and their ever more active participation in the political struggle on the side of the progressive forces for true national and social liberation of the African peoples cannot help but cause growing "concern" in the block of neocolonialist and right-opportunistic forces in the West and the pro-bourgeois ruling circles in the African states acting in unison with them. In their desire to depoliticize and "tame" the trade union movement and to push it onto the path of conciliation and reformism, these forces have not only put into play the well-known policy of the "carrot and the stick," but are ever more frequently resorting to falsification of the history of the trade union organization and to the discreditation of the experience of their struggle in the period of colonialism. The concept of the "alien nature" of African trade unions is widely used for this purpose, and preached by the bourgeois authors. The essence of this concept consists of rejecting the objective domestic regularity of the emergence of these organizations in Africa, of their organic ties with the processes of developing social-class antagonism between labor and capital in the colonies, with the "purely" African pre-trade union and semi-trade union forms of worker solidarity developing in the course of this antagonism. The trade unions are represented as the "product of import," an institution "foreign" to the socio-economic structure of African society, artificially imposed from without by the colonial parent states and their national trade centers in the form of a simple copy of the organizational and ideological structures of the latter.³

Despite the paternalistic character of this type of ideology, clearly echoing the infamous "civilizing mission" of the imperialist states in Africa, it is widely used by the national-reformist circles of the capitalistically developing countries as the initial "theoretical" postulate for substantiating the need for a certain post-colonial "reconversion" of the trade union movement. On this basis, the trade unions are asked to reject the model of "revendicative syndicalism" (from the French word revendiquer--to demand, maintain one's right to something) which was supposedly mechanically "transplanted" onto African soil from Europe and which is "foreign" to the conditions of independence. This is syndicalism built on the principles of class antagonism of labor and capital and the continued defense of the moral and material interests of the working masses. Instead, the supposedly "purely" African, "original" model of "responsible participatory syndicalism" is being forced upon them. This is a syndicalism which, due to the "social equality" and "national solidarity" of all Africans and the "common nature" of the main enemy--poverty and under-development--"rises above the traditional role of protecting the egotistical interests of its members" and is constituted as the junior economic partner of the party and the state in their efforts to create a "new industrial society"

for the good of all the people.⁴ Thus, we are speaking of efforts to force upon the trade unions, under the guise of overcoming "foreign structures and ideologies" and in the name of their "Africanization", the model of reformist syndicalism with its rejection of the class struggle and preaching of "neutrality" in politics and with its constant desire to achieve satisfaction of certain vital needs of the workers exclusively by "peaceful" and "lawful" means, by means of amiable agreements with the government and with the enterprise owners. This is the evaluation of the "responsible trade union participation" which progressive African forces give, rightfully qualifying it as "a local variant of the concept of a social partnership."⁵

In light of what we have said, it is especially current both in a scientific and in a political plane to turn to the sources of the trade union movement, its genesis. It is only at this early stage (without later features or borrowings) that we can determine with maximal reliability the degree of influence of strictly African, traditional factors of social life on the trade union organizations, as well as the actual role of external forces in their moral-organizational formulation and strengthening. The theoretical interpretation of the factual material accumulated in this sphere in Soviet and foreign historiography, leading to the construction of a conceptual model of the genesis of trade union organizations as an antithesis of the "foreign nature" and having general significance for all of Africa is the subject of this article.

* * *

As we know, the Marxist-Leninist classics viewed the emergence of trade unions as an objective regularity of the historically determined method of production, and specifically the capitalistic. Here they stressed that, although the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie begins simultaneously with the split of society into two large mutually opposing classes, the workers do not immediately realize the need for unification in this struggle, and at its primary stages "form a dispersed mass throughout the country, divided by competition", directing "their blows not only against bourgeois production relations, but also against the tools of production themselves."⁶ And it is only at a higher stage of capitalist development, when the exploitation of the workers takes on a clearly expressed organizational-systemic, generalized character and when they cannot help but see that the struggle must be waged not so much against the individual entrepreneur as against a class, that very same class which not only in the factories and plants, but everywhere oppresses and holds down the workers--only at this stage does the worker gradually realize the fact that "being weak individually, they form a force all together."⁷ This is how the first workers associations arose, which most often took on the form of societies for mutual aid and brotherhoods based on a professional indicators. It is from these that the trade unions subsequently (after a number of intermediate stages) grew and developed. Being "endured" by the proletariat in the course of a many-year struggle with capital which comprised an entire historical epoch, these organizations turned out to be "the gigantic progress of the working class at the beginning of development of capitalism, as a transition from dispersion and helpless of the workers to the beginnings of their class unification."⁸ The emergence of trade unions is a regular stage in the development of the entire proletarian movement. V. I. Lenin wrote: "...in no way but through the trade

unions, through their interaction with the party of the working class, could the development of the working class proceed or be able to proceed anywhere in the world."⁹

Despite the uniqueness of the African conditions, which were predetermined in decisive degree by the colonial situation of dependence, these Marxist-Leninist evaluations of the genesis of trade unions are applicable in full measure to this region. And if we speak of "foreign nature", here we can speak of it only in one sense--in the sense of "foreign nature" of hired labor, which is emerging everywhere in Africa not as a result of the naturally historical development of the peoples of this continent, but as a result of the forceful and artificial imposition of the capitalist means of production on the primitive communal or semi-feudal structure of its economy. This circumstance and the peculiarities of formulating the working class in the countries of Africa which were associated with it could not help but give rise to numerous specific traits of the process of inception of trade unions there. However, the essential nature of these organizations, like their social-economic predeterminacy, were internationally common. In other words, the emergence of trade unions in Africa, as everywhere in the world, was an inevitable and internally regular consequence of the development of antagonism between labor and capital in the colonies and the realization of the need for unification on a professional basis gained in the course of this antagonism.

It is notable, that many representatives of youth African scientific thought are ever more often coming to these same conclusions in their study of the genesis of trade unions in Africa. One of these, Senegalese M. Dzhibril, believes that the African trade unions are brought to life, on one hand, by those changes which are determined by the spread of commodity-monetary relations in the agrarian economy of African countries, by the beginning of the processes of small-scale industrialization and formulation of a sector of services, whose result was the emergence of a proletariat, and on the other hand, by "changes in the pre-colonial African social structures and the need for thousands of individuals to perceive the emerging new manners of behavior and new forms of solidarity." The recognition by hired laborers of their specific interests "gives rise to new social ties (between them.--O.M.). The need for successfully waging the strike struggle brings them to organization and unification into trade unions."¹⁰

This same interpretation of the genesis of trade unions in Africa is vividly noted also in the materials of the first Pan-African historical colloquium, which was held under the auspices of the Organization for African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) and the Inter-African Institute for Higher Trade Union Research in December of 1982 in the capital of Guinea, Conakry, in the framework of the preparation for publication of a three-volume history of the trade union movement on the continent begun by this institute (together with the OATUU).¹¹

If we take as the starting point in our analysis of the genesis of the African trade unions the level of social consciousness of the masses forcefully proletarianized by colonialism (and consequently also its adequate reflection in their social behavior and value orientations), then, despite the far from synonymous development of this process in the individual regions and countries

(not to mention the non-uniformity and difference in time of this development), we nevertheless may isolate, in our opinion, the four following generally significant stages which, sequentially replacing each other, everywhere led to the appearance of trade union organizations:

- "traditional resistance";
- ethnic associations and unions;
- professional associations and alliances;
- specific trade unions.

The primary stage in the genesis of trade unions in Africa is associated with that period in the history of the formulation of the army of hired African workers where they did not yet separate themselves out from the common mass of the exploited population and participated together with it in movements of national protest. Under the conditions of suppression of the last centers of military resistance by the colonizers and the start of active "assimilation" of the conquered territories, national protest turned into violent uprisings and rebellions, taking on the form of mass flight from plantations and construction sites, avoiding work duties and forced conscription of the work force, etc. At this stage, the pre-proletarian strata of the population, primarily from the numbers of contracted workers, still relied on the authority of the tribal leaders and the district colonial administration, turning to them with collective complaints about the tyranny of their overseers and masters. These complaints were ignored on the part of the tribal leaders, who themselves participated in the exploitation of the contract laborers, receiving commissions for their mediation in recruitment, as they were also ignored by the district administration whose interest in this category was defined by fulfilling the demands of the central administration on the supply of work force and return of maximum means to the district for collecting taxes. This gradually led the workers to the idea that they must join together in order to take the protection of their own interests into their own hands. Being recently torn away by capital from their traditional environment and remaining closely tied to it at all levels, they reproduced many of its elements in working out their contract. Thus, pre-trade union workers associations emerged, which were everywhere built and developed on the family-tribal and ethnic basis. "Ethnic associations," wrote the French sociologist I. Person, "almost everywhere cropped up as the first organizations of workers (Africans--O.M.). Under conditions where there was not the most elementary social provision, solidarity within the framework of these associations allowed them to survive in time of conflicts and in unforeseen circumstances."¹²

While it was a great step along the path of formulation of collective forms of worker solidarity, associations of this type nevertheless were not, nor could they be due to their narrow tribal character, organizational generality and instability, an effective tool in the struggle against colonial-capitalist oppression. The fluidity in the make-up of these associations practically excluded their turning into stable, strong, well organized associations. At the same time, the colonial administration jealously watched to see that their

activity did not go beyond the framework of family-tribal mutual aid (in cases of illness, death, etc.) and all efforts of such associations to take upon themselves the protection of the professional interests of its members "evoked quick reaction by the authorities and severe calls to order."¹³

As the worker protest movement began to gradually be defined as an independent and socially most active detachment of the national-liberation forces in the course of its "purely" professional struggle, a principally new form of organization arose in the midst of the African workers. These were friendly associations and unions which were built no longer on the indicator of ethnic appurtenance, but primarily on a professional basis. Societies and associations of petty white collar workers and office workers at state-colonial institutions, clerks from private trade firms and companies, elementary school teachers, etc. arose. Associations of this type were created also among the relatively stabilized part of the workers (railroad workers, miners, dock workers, seamen, etc.). Although the activity of the trade societies and associations, like the activity of the ethnic associations and unions, was at first reduced almost entirely to the provision of material and moral support for its members, in time they began also to partially fulfill the specific role of trade unions, i.e., to act as the initiators and organizers of strikes,¹⁴ to formulate and present demands for improvement of labor conditions and wages, for recognition of the right to defend their professional interests, etc. It is from these, essentially already semi-syndicalized organizations that the trade unions in Africa grew, and were created in spite of the official ban on "professional associations of natives."¹⁵

It was in this or almost this multi-staged manner that the complex and in many ways very painful transition of the semiproletarian masses of the African population took place in various regions of the continent from violent forms of social protest based on ethnic solidarity to the beginnings of class unity. Because of the non-uniformity of their socio-economic development and differences in the effectiveness of counteraction of the colonial forces to the processes of regrouping of the Africans on a professional basis, it was completed at different times in different regions and colonies. While in southern Africa the first trade unions of African workers appeared as early as the 20's of the current century, in many regions of tropical Africa their emergence dates back to the 40's or even 50's.

It is important to stress that the birth of trade unions reflected not only the emergence of a principally new form of organization for the African proletariat class which was being born. It was to an even larger degree a reflection of the formation in their midst of a qualitatively new form of social interactions and interrelations--the interrelations of union, solidarity and unity built on the principle of class belonging. The mass of people who were previously unknown to each other and isolated (ethnically, religiously, etc.), who had been torn away from their traditional environment and brought together by capital, was beginning to reach an understanding--for the present a most elementary understanding--of the social common character of its fates and interests and of the need to unite in order to protect these interests against the encroachments of the ruling classes. This embryonic trade union consciousness was already none other than the beginnings of proletarian consciousness,

and the trade unions were an organizational form of expression of this consciousness in the anti-colonial struggle.

What we have said does not mean that the emergence of trade unions automatically entailed the decline, and then even the total disappearance of ethnic forms of solidarity in the proletarian and semi-proletarian African environment. Because of the fact that practically to the present day the expansion of the ranks of the working class in the overwhelming majority of African states occurred and continues to occur not at the expense of internal reproduction, but generally from other sources (due to proletarianization of the peasants, craftsmen, etc.)--the traditional consciousness, just as the forms of interaction between people adequate to it was again and again brought and continues to be brought by "new recruits" into the workers movement. From this stems the parallel nature of existence of the "old" and "new" within it and their mutual penetration and odd interweave. From this we see the "dual membership" of workers, when often the members of trade unions at the same time enter into various urban ethnic associations, unions, mutual aid societies, etc.

The organic ties of African trade unions with pre-trade union, primarily ethnic forms of worker solidarity from which they emerged through their negation, does not mean that the genesis of these organizations is a process isolated from external influence. Their inception and formulation took place under the conditions of a qualitatively new revolutionary epoch of world history begun by the victory of the Great October socialist revolution in Russia, when the international working class had already accumulated huge experience in class struggle and organization. This circumstance, as well as the revolutionary enlightenment activity of the international proletarian associations and the leftist forces of the parent states conducted among the working class of the colonies was one of the decisive factors in significantly accelerating in them the processes of social-class consolidation of the working masses and their transition to the path of professionally-organized resistance to colonial-capitalist oppression. This factor began to take effect despite the isolationist policy of the colonial authorities already in the 20's-30's when, thanks to the Profintern and its membership organization--the Unitarian General Confederation of Labor (France), as well as the International Trade Union Committee for Negro Workers created under the Profintern in 1928, the ideas of anti-imperialism and class struggle began to gradually penetrate onto the African continent. It is no accident that the Senegalese historian I. D. Tiam, in analyzing the moral-political sources of the sharp activation in the strike struggle in the so-called French West Africa in the early 20's points out the revolutionizing "effect of the October revolution and the evolution of African consciousness caused by the return of former front-liners and by the rise of revolutionary syndicalism in France."¹⁶

We also cannot overlook the influence of the European workers who worked in the colonies themselves. Although the trade unions which they created united, as a rule, only the white workers, by the very fact of their existence they showed the African workers the only true path toward unification and organization which made it possible to effectively withstand the tyranny imposed on the part of the colonial authorities and the enterprise owners. The production contacts of these two racial groups of workers within the framework of the capitalist

colonial sector were far from leaving no trace. All this taken together sheds light on the sources of that fact constantly put forth by bourgeois and national-reformist authors that the African trade unions which emerged "follow closely the European (in the French colonies--"French," in the British--the "British" accordingly, etc.) model."¹⁷ However, such "birthmarks" certainly do not mean that there was not an organic interaction and continuity between the trade unions which bear them and the pre-trade union "purely" African forms of worker solidarity. They also cannot serve as proof of the "mechanical transplantation" of the experience of trade unions in the mother country onto African soil. Speaking out against this sort of simplistic efforts to represent Africa as "passively absorbing foreign ideas," the already mentioned Y. Person correctly stresses the fact that "its people never ceased to show their initiative and broadly transformed and assimilated that which they could not reject."¹⁸ These words may in full measure also be applied to trade unions. It is specifically on the basis of the continued assimilation of all the riches of the class-proletarian values and traditions of the international workers movement and their adaptation to conditions of struggle against the regime of colonial-capitalist exploitation and racial oppression that these organizations ultimately worked out the doctrine of "revindicative syndicalism." It was manifested with particular force in the activity of the World Association of the Workers of Black Africa (WAWBA)--the first Pan-African trade center in the history of the continent created at the Unification Conference of Trade Unions of the African Colonies in 1957 in the city of Koton (Benin). Here, the broad familiarity of the a large part of the trade union leaders and activists in Africa with scientific socialism had a decisive influence. It was specifically "Marxism," stressed A. Seku Ture who at that time was WAWBA secretary general, "that in many ways helped us to organize the African trade union movement on a rational basis."¹⁹

V. I. Lenin, in analyzing the development of the capitalist countries and the workers movement in the epoch of imperialism, pointed out that because of the non-uniform, spotty character of this development and national peculiarities, each country developed and continues to develop "most outstandingly first one, then another aspect or trait, or group of properties of capitalism and the workers movement."²⁰ Permeated with the spirit of the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, the WAWBA doctrine of "revindicative syndicalism" did indeed develop "most outstandingly" under specific conditions of colonial dependence one of these traits which were of common significance to the revolutionary strategy and tactics of the trade unions of all countries. Specifically, this was the politicization of trade union activity. Having made a respectable contribution to the winning of political independence by the people of its countries, the African trade union movement today sets as the central task for its national detachments the active participation in the political struggle for total liquidation of the system of neocolonialist exploitation created and refined by imperialism

"We do not share the bourgeois conception which demotes the trade unions to the position of a free association of workers concerned only about labor conditions. We reject this point of view," stated Kh. A. Sunmon, chairman of Africa's largest Nigerian Congress of Labor, in his interview with the journal WORLD TRADE MOVEMENT. "...We understand very well the fact that until

the workers can determine their own fate, they will not achieve suitable living conditions and will be destined to make do with scraps from the master's table. To turn the people into the masters of their own fate--that is our main goal."²¹

In spreading their activity to all the basic spheres of social life, including participation in the struggle for their revolutionary transformation on a socialist basis, the African trade unions (or more specifically their revolutionary wing) are thereby objectively supporting the Marxist trade union conception, or something close to it. One of the cornerstones of this conception is the rejection by the trade unions of the infamous theory of "neutrality" in politics which is forced upon them by the bourgeoisie of all countries and by the reformists. At the same time, we must stress once again that this politicization of trade union activity elevated to the highest degree is not the result of the "export of foreign doctrine and ideology," but the regular outcome of many years of experience in the struggle of the African trade unions themselves, which under conditions of the growing internationalization of the anti-imperialist movement could not have been formed without the consideration and application of the experience of other revolutionary forces.

In his study of the genesis of trade unions, K. Marx made a very important conclusion regarding the fact that "when coalitions become an economic fact which every day takes on ever greater stability, they inevitably very soon become also a legal fact."²² This Marxist conclusion is also confirmed by the genesis of trade unions in Africa. The history of these organizations convincingly testifies to the fact that everywhere the colonial forces were forced to give legal recognition to the rights of the African workers for professional unification. Under conditions where the trade union movement, despite persecution and prohibition, began to gradually grow into a real force of resistance to colonial-capitalist exploitation and racial oppression, the colonizers felt it expedient to safeguard their class interests by means of taking effective measures for "bridling" and "taming" the trade unions. And it is no accident that already in the late 30's-early 40's, as P. F. Gonidek notes, "the policy of enmity (in regard to African trade unions--O.M.)...gives way to paternalism, i.e., to the recognition of the trade unions by colonial legislation, however, only the trade unions directed and controlled in such a way so as to avoid the risk of recognizing the right to their legal existence."²³ It was specifically in the channel of this pro-colonialist course toward "taming" the trade union organizations of the "natives" that such mother country trade centers as the BCT (British Congress of Trade Unions), the FCCW (French Confederation of Christian Workers), "Force ouvrier" and others conducted their activity in Africa. The rightist leaders of these organizations strived to impose in the trade union sphere there the spirit of apolitical nature and "prudent reformism" and to provoke schisms. The "African strategy" of the French World Confederation of Labor was diametrically opposed to this, and was truly proletarian internationalist. It provided for the active involvement of trade unions into the anti-imperialist struggle.

* * *

Thus, the genesis of trade unions in Africa refutes the thesis of their "foreign nature." Their birth was not the result of "import," but a regular outcome of the forcing of capitalist production relations on the continent and the changes which they caused in the socio-economic structure of African society.

These changes engendered the emergence of trade unions, which crowned the complex and painful transition of the proletarianized masses of the population from violent forms of protest within the framework of ethnic solidarity to collective forms of defending their own interests within the framework of professional, social-class solidarity. Having grown up in the course of the struggle and for the sake of the struggle for "softening" colonial-capitalist oppression, these organizations subsequently became one of the most active political detachments in the national-liberation movement. And today the African trade unions, waging the struggle against local exploiters and the plunderous policies of the transnational corporations, the struggle for progressive socio-economic transformations, are ever more decisively declaring themselves to be a serious social force having the right of a deciding vote in determining the fate of the peoples of their continent. Another fact of primary importance is that, in the course of this struggle, the processes of social coming of age of the young and rapidly growing working class in the African countries is gaining force. "In the course of the struggle," says the New Edition of the CPSU Program adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress, "its political maturity and degree of organization are increasing."²⁴ This creates the necessary prerequisites for the gradual transformation of this class into "a class for itself" and its future attainment of hegemony in the revolutionary-liberation movement.

FOOTNOTES

1. For Freedom, Independence, National Rebirth and Social Progress of the Peoples of Tropical and Southern Africa. Summary document of the Conference of Communist and Workers Parties of Africa. RK i SM, 1979, No 3, p 139.
2. Until August 1984, the Republic of Upper Volta.
3. Such views on the history of the emergence of African trade unions are promoted most actively by the former regional director of the Afro-American Trade Union Center (AATUC) for the countries of the Sahel zone, currently an official of the central apparatus of the AATUC in Washington, G. Marten, who in the late 70's-early 80's presented a series of articles on the problems of the trade union movement in French-speaking Africa. Referring to the fact that, beginning with the mid-40's and up to the second half of the 50's the trade union organizations in this part of the continent developed primarily within the structural-functional framework of the trade union movement of the mother country (being "territorial sections" of the World Confederation of Labor, the French Confederation of Christian Workers, and the right-reformist "Force ouvrier"), he maintains in clear terms that "the first African trade unions were directly imported from Europe, often taking advisors, subsidies, the structure and ideology of their patrons" (i.e., the trade union centers of the mother countries. O.M.). Cf.: Martens, G. Syndicats et construction nationale en Afrique francophone. AFRIQUE NOUVELLE, 1978, No 1498, p 13. This same thesis, although not always in such a direct form, is presented by G. Marten in his other works. Cf.: Martens, G. Le syndicalisme en Afrique occidentale d'expression française: de 1945 à 1960. LE MOIS EN AFRIQUE, 1980, No 178-179, p 77; Martens, G. Révolution ou participation: syndicats et partis politiques au Sénégal. LE MOIS EN AFRIQUE, 1983, No 205-206, p 74; Martens, G. L'Afrique a-t-elle besoin des syndicats? LE MOIS EN AFRIQUE, 1984, No 219-220, p 53-54.

4. For more details on the criticism of the national-reformist doctrine of "responsible participating syndicalism" cf.: Braginskiy, M. I., Mushtuk, O. Z. "The African Proletariat and the Trade Unions in Non-Marxist Sociological Studies" In: "Sotsiologiya razvitiya" (Sociology of Development) of Africa. M., 1984, p 121-128.
5. Gey, S. P. "The Path Which We Have Chosen" (Summary of the II Senegal Independence and Labor Party Congress) PMS, 1985, No 4, p 46.
6. Marx, K., and Engels, F. "Sochineniya" (Collected Works) Vol 4, p 431-432.
7. Ibid., Vol 2, p 354.
8. Lenin, V. I. "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" (Complete Collected Works), Vol 41, p 33.
9. Ibid., p 33-34.
10. Djibril, M. Syndicalisme africain: un debat actuel. AFRIQUE NOUVELLE, 1978, No 1493, p 4.
11. Cf:Colloque sur l'Histoire du Mouvement Syndical Africain. WALIKE, 1983, No 36, p 7-11.
12. Person, Y. Les syndicats en Afrique Noire. LE MOIS EN AFRIQUE, 1980, No 172-173, p 24.
13. Thiam, I. D. Recherche sur les premieres manifestations de la conscience syndicale au Senegal. (Le periode 1936-1937) ANNALES DE LA FACULTE DES LETTRES ET SCIENCES HUMAINES, Universite de Dakar, 1975, No 5, p 214.
14. We must note in this connection that the strikes in Africa preceded the creation of trade unions there and colonizers were first faced with them at the turn of the 19th-20th century. Cf.: Julis G. Quelques aspects du mouvement syndical africain. AUJOURD'HUI D'AFRIQUE, 1980, No 21, p 10.
15. The very fact of the illegal creation of the first African trade unions is one of the weighty arguments in favor of their natural historical origin. And if we consider it, as does, for example, the French author P.-F. Gonidek then we must come to the objectively inevitable conclusion that "African syndicalism is not a more or less artificial institution imported into Africa by the colonial powers, since its birth in most cases preceded its legal recognition." (Cf.: Gonides, P.-E. Les systemes politiques africains. Partie I. P., 1971, p 200.)
16. Thiam, I. D. Les origines du mouvement syndical senegalais. La greve des cheminots du Dakar-Saint-Louis du 13 au 15 avril 1919. ANNALES DE LA FACULTE DES LETTRES ET SCIENCES HUMAINES. Universite de Dakar. 1977, No 7, p 212-213.
17. Martens, G. Le syndicalisme en Afrique occidentale d'expression francaise..., p 76.

18. Person, Y. Op. cit., p 22.
19. Sekou Toure A. Experience guineenne et unite africaine. P., 1961, p 420.
20. Lenin, V. I. Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy, Vol 38, p 304.
21. VSEMIRNOYE PROFSOYUZNOYE DVIZHENIYA, 1982, No 10, p 37-38.
22. Marx, K. and Engels, F. Sochineniya, Vol 4, p 181.
23. Gonidec, P.-F. Op. cit., p 200.
24. Program of the CPSU. New Edition. M., 1986, p 17.

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ROUNDTABLE ON S & T REVOLUTION, UNEMPLOYMENT IN WEST

[Editorial Report] Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian number 3 of May-June 1986 carries on pages 99-111 a 10,600-word conclusion to a report on the roundtable "The Scientific-Technical Revolution and Problems of Unemployment in the Developed Capitalist Countries". (For the first part of the report see RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR No 2, pp 76-88). The roundtable was held under the aegis of the Institute of the International Workers Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Participants in the roundtable were: A. G. Ivanov, doctor of economic sciences, leading researcher of the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO) of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Ye. G. Antosenkov, doctor of economic sciences, professor, director of the Scientific Research Institute of Labor; L. I. Piyasheva, candidate of economic sciences, senior scientific associate of the Institute of the International Workers Movement (IMRD) of the USSR Academy of Sciences; V. M. Kollontay, doctor of economic sciences, leading researcher at IMEMO; S. Ye. Shipilova, candidate of economic sciences, senior instructor in the chair of political economy at the Moscow Cooperative Institute; I. V. Bushmarin, doctor of economic sciences, senior scientific associate at IMRD; R. I. Tsvylev, doctor of economic sciences, senior scientific associate at IMRD; N. F. Rydyanov, candidate of economic sciences, sector chief at IMRD; A. Zhamaletdinova, candidate of economic sciences, senior scientific associate at IMRD; N. I. Sharova, junior scientific associate at IMRD; and A. I. Belchuk (not further identified).

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CUBAN TRADE UNIONS' ROLE IN LABOR, SOCIAL SPHERES DESCRIBED

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 3, May-June 1986 pp 137-146

[Article by B.S. Vaynshteyn: "Production Activity of Cuban Trade Unions"]

[Text] A special place in Cuba's contemporary history belongs to the Communist Party Congresses which have confirmed the country's direction toward the expanded construction of a material-technical base for socialism. For the first 10 years after the victory of the revolution in Cuba, the country's primary task was to endure under conditions of unceasing military-political pressure by domestic and foreign reaction. "During these 10 years," noted F. Castro, "many other problems became of secondary or third-rate importance. The problem of development did not exist, and it could not exist, since in order to develop it was first necessary to survive. The best efforts of our people, our best cadres were thrown into this task, and the attention of the entire country was directed toward it."¹ It is therefore not surprising that in the period of 1961-1965 the increase in the gross national product comprised 1.9 percent per year, not exceeding by much the low pre-revolutionary rate of development of the economy,² while from 1966 through 1970 it increased only to 3.9 percent.

The complex foreign political situation of Cuba--the constant threat of armed attack, the economic blockade and the remoteness from other countries of the socialist alliance--was made even more severe by the excessive dependence on imports. Various sectors of the national economy felt an acute deficit of materials, raw goods, fuel and equipment, which led to irregularities in production. Under these conditions, scientific planning of the economy was hindered, and standardization of labor proved impossible.

We also cannot lose sight of the very complexity of the task of improving the social organization of labor in the course of socialist construction. Even V. I. Lenin noted that: "We need, obviously, not weeks, but long months and years for the new social class, and we might add the class that until now had been oppressed and crushed by need and darkness, to become acquainted with its new position, to look around, to organize its work, and to put forth its own organizers."³ He also noted that "building new forms of social ties between people, building new forms and means of attracting people to labor is a task requiring many years and decades."⁴

By the early 70's, when the country was able to embark upon the solution of the task of developing the economy (which was facilitated by shifts in favor of the forces of socialism in the entire world), a persistent need arose for the scientifically substantiated standardization of labor. The introduction of standards expanded the capacities of economic planning, and also made it possible to bring about order in labor wages.

It is characteristic that it was specifically the Cuban trade unions who stood at the sources of the all-people's movement for the general introduction of output norms and for correspondence of labor wages to the fulfillment of these norms. This movement by the Cuban workers took place parallel to the organizational restructuring of the trade unions--an integral part of a broad complex of measures on developing the political system of Cuban society.

The currently existing Trade Union Center for Workers of Cuba (TUCWC), whose reconstitution was organizationally formulated at its 13th Congress in 1973, has a long pre-history. In 1925, the National Worker's Confederation was instituted. It was prohibited in 1935 and later legalized in 1939 under the name of the Confederation of Workers of Cuba (CWC). For a long time the secretary general of the CWC was the communist L. Pena Gonzalez. Despite the usurping of power in the CWC in 1952 by the unprincipled political intriguers E. Muhal, who had been excluded from the communist party in 1934, there was growing discontentment with the Batista dictatorship among the broad popular masses and in the official trade union center. It was no accident that the event deciding the fate of the revolution was the strike of 2-5 January 1959 organized by the Unified National Workers Front, which put a final end to the hopes of the dictatorship proponents to hold on to power.

The activity on resurrecting the broad and democratic workers organizations was implemented in Cuba with the full support of the party and state organs, which ensured this implementation "without hurry but also without interruption."⁵ At the end of 1970, elections were held in the country to the committees of the primary organizations, and then to the municipal and regional committees. The 23 national federations created according to the principle and uniting around 2.2 million workers allowed the trade unions to establish close ties with production and to take a constructive approach to the selection and promulgation of the best examples of organization of labor.

The process of rebirth of the mass organization of workers--the trade unions--on a Marxist-Leninist basis was completed with the convocation of the 13th Congress of the Trade Union Center of the Workers of Cuba (TUCWC). By this time, the new tendencies in the development of the trade union movement had been outlined quite clearly, and the results of the implemented measures could already be verified in life.

The primary direction passing through all the decisions of the 13th TUCWC Congress was the acknowledgement of the objective necessity of two stages in the development of communist formation--the lower socialist and the higher, specifically communist--with each having its own inherent traits. Considering the well-known idealism in the solution of pressing problems in socialist construction in Cuba in the second half of the 60's, this was far from a simple

repetition of the well-known truth of Marxist theory. The workers' forum became in essence the first all-national discussion of the problems on the organization of social labor and development of the economy which had come to a head in the country. Following the line first outlined in 1970 in the speeches of F. Castro and the party position, the Congress confirmed the great importance of material incentives at the socialist stage of development of society. "Achieving the maximal effectiveness of production"--that is how F. Castro defined the main task of the revolution for the coming years in his speech presented at the TUCWC Congress.⁶ "The first and decisive step" in this direction, in his opinion, was the 13th Congress of the Trade Union Center of the Workers of Cuba.

The comprehensive discussion of the problems of socialist construction at the trade union congress facilitated the preparation of the decisions of the I Communist Party Congress, which were an historical event for Cuba (December 1975). The party congress presented the Cuban people with an extremely complex task: the transition to an expanded and accelerated construction of the material-technical base for socialism. This predetermined the development of an entire series of major problems. Specific political, economic and social measures such as the adoption of a new constitution, the development and adoption of the 1st Five-Year Plan for economic and social development for the years 1976-1980, the introduction of a new system of management and planning of the economy (abbreviated--SMPE), the development of the political organization of society, the transition to a new political-administration division of the country, etc. all became subordinate to the solution of these major problems.

In the period between the 13th TUCWC Congress and the 1st Cuban Communist Party Congress, there was a reorganization in the structure of the trade unions. Instead of the former 23 there were 18 (now 17) new sectorial unions formed. The one with the largest membership and retaining its great significance remains the national trade union of agricultural workers. It unites about 600,000 workers, i.e., almost one-quarter of all the workers. The second largest in membership is the trade union for workers in trade and the sphere of services (328,000 people). Following these are the trade unions of builders (274,000), workers in education and science (270,000), public health workers (120,000), sugar refinery workers (110,000 as of 1975), state employees (98,000), workers in light industry (87,000), and workers in the food and meat industry (80,000 people). The membership figures of the sectorial trade unions are given for the moment of their formation. Smaller in terms of the number of members which they unite, but far from less significant are the trade unions of workers in culture, workers in the maritime fleet, dock and fishery workers, workers in the chemical and power industries, in the mining industry (at present united with the preceding group), in the tobacco industry, workers in communications, and civilian employees working in the armed forces.

The effect of trade unions on the definition, development and practical implementation of the strategy of the party and state leadership in the sphere of production and social progress on the whole was rather great, which was confirmed at the 1st Cuban Communist Party Congress, at the subsequent 14th

TUCWC Congress (November-December 1978), the 2nd Cuban Communist Party Congress (December 1980), and the 15th TUCWC Congress (February 1984). In the 1975 program platform, the Cuban Communist Party's evaluation of the trade unions is formulated as follows: "The trade unions, which organizationally unity the workers--the leading class of society--are directly tied with production and represent, in the teachings of Lenin, a school of management and communism. From this steps the primary, outstanding role which they play in the construction of the new society together with all the mass and social organizations of the country." This position cannot be fully exposed if from the general aspects of activity of the Cuban trade unions we do not go to their everyday and specific activity. Therefore, we must first return to the specific problem of introducing standardization at the republic's enterprises, and then illuminate also certain other aspects of the daily work of the country's trade unions in the sphere of production.

The participation of the trade unions in developing the country's economy by means of improving their own organizational structure was an important condition in preparing for the stage of expanded construction of the material-technical base of socialism on the island. An element of this participation which determined the rate of social development itself was primarily the activity of the trade unions on increasing labor productivity. Starting in early 1970, preliminary work was begun in Cuba on introducing standardization at enterprises. The solution of this problem required the broadest possible participation of the workers at all stages of development and introduction of the "plan for organization and standardization of labor" (as this measure was called everywhere in the country). The current nature of this problem became evident for the party and state leadership of the republic and led to a factual review of the evaluation of the role of material incentives in the organization of production.⁷

Work on introducing scientifically substantiated production standards is continuing in Cuba at the present time. The role of the trade unions in this extremely complex process is hard to overestimate.

The scientific approach to the organization of labor in the country showed the necessity of performing extensive preliminary work and division of the standardization into two stages. The first stage--"elementary standardization"--is directed toward the struggle against losses of work time due to disruption of labor discipline, ineffective organization of labor activity, delays in supply, etc. The second, qualitatively higher stage, is the transition to technical standards. It presupposes additional requirements for the standards, their closer approximation to indicators of labor productivity of leading workers and closer connection with a rational technological regimen of labor, as well as with the labor wage scale.⁸

By 15 May 1973, standardization (primarily its first stage) covered 74,500 enterprises employing around 1.5 million people, or about 60 percent of all those engaged in the national economy.⁹ By November of the same year this indicator had increased to 70 percent.¹⁰ And already by the end of 1973 the first stage of standardization in Cuba had in fact been completed and the conditions had been prepared for the spread of technical norms at enterprises.

At some enterprises, both stages of standardization were implemented in a parallel manner, and already by July 1974 361 enterprises had changed over to the standards adapted to the wage scale (for each percentage of over-fulfillment of the norm, a bonus in the amount of 1% of the wage was established; the wage is reduced in like manner for underfulfillment of the norm).

The higher form of labor organization facilitated the growth of its productivity in greater measure. Already in the initial period of spread of the technical norms, the labor productivity increased from 15 to 30 percent as a result of their introduction.¹¹

The rapid rate of transition to the second stage of standardization, which required complex computations and tedious preliminary work, did not always have a positive effect on the result. The increasing requirements for scientific substantiation of the norms were also expressed in the subsequent slowing of the process of completing the transition to the second stage of standardization. And yet the swift spread of scientific organization of labor itself which took place in Cuba in the first years of the approach to solving this problem already told of much, and primarily indicated the great creative activity of the rank-and-file members of the trade unions.

The attention of the trade unions to this measure is quite understandable, considering the possibilities of their deep effect on the working and living conditions of the workers. Moreover, setting substantiated tasks and output norms with the participation of the trade unions is necessary "...so that each participant in production may understand the necessity and expediency of the production tasks which he performs; so that every participant in production... will not only perform the tasks assigned from above, but will also consciously assist in correcting all miscalculations, technical and organizational, in the sphere of production."¹²

When a more complete and rational application of the material and labor resources was needed, the Cuban trade unions became actively involved in the work of promulgating standardization in production. They directed their efforts toward explaining this measure to the workers and oriented them toward participation in the development, discussion and final approval of the plans for organization and standardization of labor. "Commissions on labor productivity" were created from the first stage of introduction of standards at enterprises. Included in these commissions on a voluntary basis were representatives of the party organization, the Komsomol and the trade unions. The leading and most well-trained workers, specialists, as well as standards specialists (if there were such at the enterprise) were also involved in these commissions. The commission's proposals were discussed at the general workers' meeting. Only after this were the standards adopted for fulfillment.

The indicated commissions sought out measures for improving the organization of labor. For this purpose, they had the right to review and introduce innovative proposals requiring additional material expenditures,¹³ as well as to develop standards for each worker. The measures outlined by the commissions were summarized into a unified project for improving production, which was discussed and ratified in accordance with the effective order. Later the

commissions became permanently acting organs. They bear the responsibility for periodic review of the standards in accordance with the changes in technology, types of raw materials, manufactured products, etc.

The stage of expanded construction of the material-technical base for socialism in the country (the beginning of which may be considered 1975, i.e., the year of the first party congress, the year of adoption of the 1st Five-Year Plan) presented even greater requirements for the scientific organization of labor. The above-mentioned system of management (SMPE) directly provides for "achieving the maximal effectiveness of the economy by means of the most rational application of the productive resources (material and human), as well as ensuring the maximal results with the minimal expenditures..."¹⁴ The significance of this factor also increased due to the growth of prices on raw goods and materials in the second half of the 70's.

In the first year after the 13th TUCWC Congress, the system of peace-rate wages based on scientifically substantiated norms had spread to almost 2,000 enterprises and covered over 337,000 workers.¹⁵ If we trace further the dynamics of spread of the scientific organization of labor at the country's enterprises, we will find that by the end of 1977 the principle of connection between the wage rate and the growth of labor productivity found application in 13,000 labor collectives employing around 1 million people, and directly impacted around 700,000 workers.¹⁶ And already in December of 1980 at the 2nd Cuban Communist Party Congress, F. Castro pointed out the fact that the trade unions had overfulfilled the responsibilities outlined for this important social event--they brought the number of persons covered by the labor wage system in accordance with output up to 1 million.¹⁷

The 15th TUCWC Congress (February 1984), which was an important landmark in the development of the country's entire trade union movement, noted that the result of the trade union activity in this direction was the growth in labor productivity by an average of 7.3 percent per year for the years 1979-1982.¹⁸ From the time of the preceding, 14th TUCWC Congress (November-December 1978), the number of persons working under the bonus system had stabilized by 1984, while the overall number of those receiving wages based on output doubled (at the time of the 15th TUCWC Congress reaching 930,000 and 1.2 million persons, respectively.)¹⁹ Overall, around 90 percent of all the workers in Cuba are covered by standards; of these, 77 percent by elementary standards and 23 percent by standards which are partially or fully technically substantiated.²⁰

The gradual transition of the republic to the solution of problems of integrated industrialization increases to an ever greater degree the role of the factor of scientific management and planning. At the present time, practical steps have been taken in the country for the introduction of the SMPE, which is called upon "...to serve as the main instrument in the cause of achieving the goals facing a society which is building socialism and proceeding toward communism."²¹

In this connection, we must touch upon another aspect of the activity of trade unions which also relates to ensuring the effectiveness of economic planning.

Already starting in 1974 in Cuba, annual discussions of technical-economic plans for the development of the republic held at general meetings have been an example of the practical participation of trade union organizations in national economic planning. At the initiative of the trade unions, in 1974 the plan for the upcoming year was discussed in approximately 37,000 work centers, where over 1.7 million workers were employed.²² Altogether, over 1.2 and 1.3 million people participated in a discussion of the plans for 1975 and 1976, respectively.²³ With the adoption of the 1st Five-Year plan for the country's development for the years 1976-1980 (which was essentially a component part of the long-term program of SMPE), this practice of trade union activity took on a permanent character and became more substantiated, since the workers gained the opportunity of analyzing and comparing a broad range of data. On the average, in the years of the five-year plan alone, around 85 percent of the country's workers participated in the discussion.²⁴ And of course, such a broad discussion of the plan assignments of enterprises, sectors and the entire national economy by their immediate executors gave these plans great authority.

The aspects of this activity examined above (beginning from the specific structural organization of the trade unions, through their participation in the development of the country's global economic policy, and to their cooperation with the state's economic-planning organs in the standardization and planning of labor) played a role which for the most part was an auxiliary one in the system of other social institutions, though it was a very important one for Cuba. At the same time, there are also problems in the work of the trade unions which only they can resolve. As applied to Cuba, this relates primarily to the organization of socialist competition and volunteer labor,²⁵ as well as to the movement of innovators and inventors.

Gradually, with the return to socialist principles of organization of production--the restoration of material incentives, standardization and the piece-rate wage, etc.--competition in Cuba is also restoring its socialist character. It has become possible to compare labor indicators, to promulgate the achievements of leaders in competition which have been fixed in the all-national scale of production standards and to realize in practice (as V. I. Lenin said of socialist competition) "the possibility of exchange of those material resources--and human resources--which have shown their best side in the appropriate sphere of the national economy or state management."²⁶

As early as 1970, the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee outlined and began to implement important measures for organizing competition and increasing the role of the trade unions in it. Its basic direction is becoming the struggle for accelerating the rate of growth in labor productivity. The growth of labor productivity is viewed as the "central national task," as the "sole path to riches."

Starting in 1970, at the initiative of the TUCWC, a competition was begun in Cuba under the name of the "Moncada Storm in the sphere of labor productivity". The indicators of this type of competition included, specifically, the fulfillment of production tasks, the growth of labor productivity, the campaign against unexcused absences, and volunteer labor.²⁷ A new moment in the organization of competition in the early 70's became the movement toward economy of

raw material,²⁸ as well as the spread of competition between enterprises of the same type.²⁹ Here, the strengthening of ties between the Cuban trade unions and the trade unions of other socialist countries exerted its influence. Agreements between individual enterprises began to be concluded not only within the framework of the country, but also within the broader limits of the alliance.³⁰

Starting in 1974, socialist competition has been developing in Cuba on the basis of the new Position on Competition adopted by the 13th TUCWC Congress. Based on the experience of the USSR and other socialist countries, the practice of development and conclusion of collective agreements is becoming widespread. These agreements allow workers to better realize their rights and responsibilities and to give perspective to their labor. In 1974 such agreements were signed at the country's enterprises, uniting around 2 million workers.³¹ By 1977 they had been signed at enterprises with over 2.3 million workers. The quality of collective agreements is constantly being improved.

With the cooperation of the trade unions, socialist competition strengthened its economic, as well as its ideological effectiveness, became better substantiated, and increased its educational effect. It was enriched with new forms and developed in depth. It was implemented not only between enterprises and institutions, but also between shops, shifts, and individual work brigades ("microcompetition").

In 1975, over 1.2 million workers accepted individual responsibilities in honor of the party congress which was being held. The 36,000 enterprises of the republic took on the responsibility of overfulfilling the economic plans or fulfilling them prior to the proposed date.³² The leadership movement became widespread, and received the name of "shock workers of the competition." When the campaign for a fitting greeting to the 2nd Party Congress (1980) was expanded in the country, over 7,000 enterprises fulfilled their responsibilities a month prior to the designated time.³³

Similar results were noted also in the competitions in honor of other memorable events and historical dates. In the last 3 years alone they were conducted on the occasion of the 10th Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the 4th SMK Congress (organization of Cuban Komsomols), and the 15th TUCWC Congress.³⁴ There is always socialist competition being held in Cuba to honor the anniversaries of the storming of Moncada barracks, the victory of the Cuban as well as the October revolutions, etc. At the beginning of 1986 the competition was successfully completed for a fitting greeting to the 3rd Cuban Communist Congress. Economic as well as ideological moments are combined in such measures.

As noted at the 14th TUCWC Congress (1978), competition in Cuba after 1973 completely took on a socialist and mass character. It is being improved and developed in this direction even now. While in 1974, individual responsibilities were accepted by around 1.5 million workers in the republic, in 1977 this figure was over 2.1 million. The number of those fulfilling their responsibilities also changed--around 1 million and over 1.8 million people, respectively. In the years 1976-1980, 178 leading workers were honored with the

title of Hero of Labor. By 1984, over 2.2 million workers and around 16,000 enterprises received the title of those who have fulfilled their responsibilities.³⁵

Every sector of the country's national economy and every sectorial trade union is conducting an on-going search for its own forms of effective organization of competition. This is the "Movement of leaders" in transport, the "Movement of millioners and thousands" in animal husbandry, the competition "For effective mechanization of agriculture", etc.

The growth of labor productivity in the country in the examined period was the objective indicator of the efficiency of production activity of labor unions in general and the effectiveness of the socialist competition which they organized in particular. Already in 1971 and 1972 in the main industrial sectors (electroenergetics, machine building, the chemical industry and ferrous metallurgy) the labor productivity grew by 8 and 6.3 percent, respectively.³⁶ Throughout the entire national economy this indicator comprised 9 percent annually for the period 1971-1975.³⁷ As a result of general unfavorable and primarily external factors, this indicator dropped to 3.4 percent for the period 1976-1980.³⁸ Subsequently, despite the continuing action of the unfavorable situation in the world market and the exacerbation of the foreign political situation surrounding Cuba, the republic managed to achieve a certain acceleration in economic growth. In the period of 1978-1983 the growth of the GNP already comprised an average of around 5 percent a year.³⁹

Under current conditions of the country's development, we must isolate the direction of competition for economy of materials, raw goods and energy. At the present time it is becoming the guarantee for the further economic development and growth in the well-being of the workers. And it is specifically here that the trade unions have achieved impressive results. In 1983 alone around 200 million pesos were saved due to economic expenditure of materials. Over 50 million pesos were returned to the national economy due to conservation of raw materials, and around 500,000 tons of specified fuel were conserved due to the increased effectiveness of energetics.⁴⁰

The shortage of material and labor resources observed in Cuba increases the importance of the specific form of organization of labor in the country--the movement toward volunteer labor. The effectiveness of this type of labor is manifested with particular force in the fulfillment of pressing tasks and urgent work, primarily in agriculture and construction. The overall increase in the organizational level of production in Cuba reduces and, undoubtedly, will continue to reduce the volume of work performed on the basis of volunteer labor. At the same time, it is also clear that properly organized volunteer labor has a great educational significance for the workers, while the complex of reasons necessitating the application of this type of labor will not disappear in the near future.

The organizer of all forms of volunteer labor--in agriculture, construction, as well as in production (in the form of work Saturdays, work Sundays, special duty shifts, etc.)--are the labor unions, who are the real backbone of this movement. Therefore, the enthusiasm of the masses finds full and effective self expression in the country.

Already in the first post-revolutionary years, the trade unions made a significant contribution to the organization of all-national campaigns on the harvest of sugar cane, and isolated from their ranks volunteer macheteros, i.e., cane cutters. Participation of the workers in volunteer brigades during the annual safra(cane harvest) became a matter of pride in Cuba, largely due to the efforts of the trade unions. At the initiative of these brigades such an innovation arose as the movement of the millionaire-brigades, who cut over 1 million arrobas⁴¹ of sugar cane by hand during the safra period. In connection with the growth in the relative share of mechanized cane harvesting on the island⁴², the brigades of combine operators have also joined this movement in recent years.

Between 1974 and 1977 the trade unions supplied for each safra over 40,000 permanent macheteros-cutters, and in the 1976-1980 five-year period--around 44,000.⁴³ As compared with the period prior to 1973, the tendency here is such that with reduction in the number of volunteers presented, better results are achieved. In the safra of 1983-84 it was enough to call up only 16,228 volunteer cutters.⁴⁴ This is achieved due to the increase in the requirements for selection of volunteers and better organization of their labor, as well as growth of its productivity.⁴⁵

Nevertheless, the volume of volunteer labor does not decline in construction (where it is directed primarily toward the direct satisfaction of the demands of workers for modern and comfortable housing), as well as in the all-national days of volunteer labor. Thus, in the volunteer work Sundays organized in Cuba in honor of the anniversaries of the Great October revolution, the number of workers engaged in them is even increasing: from 1979 through 1983 from 1.6 to over 2.1 million people.⁴⁶

Simultaneously with the restoration of the role of trade unions in social life of Cuba, organizational forms of the movement of innovators and efficiency experts were also emerging and developing. This work was also conducted under leadership of the trade unions.

The National Association of Innovators and Efficiency Experts was convened on 8 October 1976. Associations of innovators and efficiency experts were created within the scope of the provinces and municipalities in accordance with the country's new political-administrative movement. The effectiveness of this workers' movement was noted by the 2nd Cuban Communist Party Congress. At the time of the congress, it numbered 33,000 members, which in the course of the five-year plan presented almost 15,000 proposals which annually saved the state over 127 million pesos.⁴⁷ The 15th TUCWC Congress summarized the further development of this movement: by February 1984, 5,200 commissions of innovators and efficiency experts unified over 60,200 members. In 1982 alone, around 10,000 inventions were introduced which saved the state 320 million pesos, while in 1983, an additional 400 million pesos were saved by the state thanks to inventions.⁴⁸

In summarizing our review of the production activity of the Cuban trade unions after 1970, we would like to stress the growth of their authority among the workers, who rightfully recognized in them the defenders of their interests.

Already in 1974 they united 88 percent of all the republic's workers, in 1977--94 percent, in 1980--97.1, in 1984--99.2 percent, while the overall number of trade union members in this same 1984 comprised almost 2.6 million people.⁴⁹

Increasing the role of the workers in the social life of the society of the victorious proletariat is becoming the main law of social development. The objective necessity of this process is well reflected in the following Leninist position: "We will inevitably make mistakes, but each mistake will now serve as a lesson not to groups of students theoretically studying some course in state administration, but to millions of workers who will themselves feel the consequences of every error and who will themselves see that they are faced with immediate tasks of product accounting and distribution and of increasing labor productivity. They will see by experience that the power is in their hands, that no one will help them if they do not help themselves. This is the new psychology which is being created in the working class. This is the task of colossal historical importance facing the proletariat, which must become most involved in the consciousness of the trade unions and the activists of the professional movement."⁵⁰

Such an understanding of their basic tasks by Cuba's trade unions (and the presented analysis specifically testifies to this)--is the guarantee of the country's future success along this difficult road.

FOOTNOTES

1. Castro, F. The Strength of the Revolution Lies in Unity. Speeches, presentations and interviews during the visit to Chile on 10 November-4 December 1971. M., 1972, 214 p.
2. Before the revolution, in the period of 1950-1958, the average rate of economic growth in Cuba comprised 1.6 percent. Cf.: "Statistical Yearbook 1964". N. Y., 1985, No 4, p 530.
3. Lenin, V. I. "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Collected Words], Vol 36, p 192-193.
4. Ibid., Vol 40, p 316.
5. Cf. Felleria Foca E. Los congresos obreros de Cuba. La Habana, 1973, p 556. The need for the rebirth of trade union organization in Cuba was associated with difficulties in the development of the country's trade union movement in the period 1966-1969. Regarding this, cf.: I Cuban Communist Party Congress. Havana, 17-22 December, 1975. M., 1976, p 109-111.
6. Cf.: GRANMA, 17 November 1973.
7. Although prior to 1973 the concept of "material incentive" was not used in Cuba, in fact this lever for the growth of labor productivity was used as an accompanying element to moral incentives--those leading workers awarded honorary certificates and anniversary insignias were at the same time given

preference in receiving long-term use commodities which were in short supply, in obtaining housing, travel benefits, etc. The introduction of the first experimental standards into production gave an additional impetus to the more flexible application of the system of incentives in the country's economy.

8. GRANMA, 5 February 1973; 17 July 1973.
9. "Respublika Cuba" [The Republic of Cuba] M., 1976, p 41.
10. GRANMA, 15 November, 1973.
11. GRANMA, 6 March, 1974; 12 August, 1974.
12. Cf.: Lenin, V. I. Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy, Vol 42, p 223.
13. According to the data of the TUCWC, in 1972 alone, thanks to the indicated commissions, 3,700 proposals submitted by efficiency experts were introduced into production.
14. 1st Cuban Communist Party Congress, p 441.
15. JUVENTUD REBELDE, 4 February 1975; GRANMA, 21 December 1975.
16. GRANMA, 1 December, 1978.
17. GRANMA, 19 December, 1980.
18. GRANMA, 21 February, 1984.
19. GRANMA, 21 February, 1984.
20. Ibidem.
21. 1st Cuban Communist Party Congress, p 440.
22. JUVENTUD REBELDE, 4 February, 1975.
23. Cf.: Sheynin, E. Ya. Course of the Cuban Communist Party Toward Improving the Management of the Economy. LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, 1976, No 3.
24. GRANMA, 19 December, 1980.
25. Voluntary labor is work performed voluntarily and without compensation for the purpose of solving the vital social and immediate economic problems under the specific conditions of the country.
26. Lenin, V. I. Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy, Vol 36, p 153.
27. LOS TRABAJADORES, 1971, No 5.
28. The beginning of this movement was laid by the initiative of the National Trade Union of Base Industry. In 1972 it presented the initiative of

holding a competition under the slogan: "October--the month of economy of raw materials." With the support of the TUWCW, this initiative became widespread and gave good results. (Cf.: GRANMA, 13, 19 October 1972).

29. Emerging in 1971 first in light industry and later spreading throughout the country, this type of competition was more specific, and made it possible to improve the exchange of leading experience and to expand the possibilities of introducing new technology. Already by the end of 1972 mutual agreements on competition had been concluded by most of the country's enterprises (Cf.: GRANMA, 21 October, 1971; 21 October, 1972).
30. The beginnings of this in Cuba were in 1973, when the collectives of two enterprises--the Cuban Mechanical Plant imeni F. A. Noriegi in Santa Clara and the Soviet Agricultural Machine Building Plant imeni Ukhtomskiy in Lubertsy (Moscow) concluded an agreement on competition.
31. GRANMA, 1 December 1978.
32. JUVENTUD REBELDE, 2 June, 1975.
33. GRANMA, 21, February 1984.
34. Ibidem.
35. GRANMA, 1 December, 1978; 19 December, 1980; 21 February, 1984.
36. The Republic of Cuba, p 41-42.
37. GRANMA, 21 December, 1975.
38. GRANMA, 18 December, 1980.
39. GRANMA, 21 February, 1984.
40. Ibidem.
41. Arroba--a measure of weight corresponding approximately to 11.5 kg.
42. While in 1971 the mechanized harvesting of cane comprised around 25 percent, and in 1980--45 percent, in the safra of 1983 it comprised 62 percent of all the cane harvested in the country. (Cf.: GRANMA, 21 February, 1984).
43. GRANMA, 1 December, 1978; 19 December, 1984.
44. GRANMA, 21 February, 1984.
45. From 1980 through 1984 alone the labor productivity averaged per cane cutter in Cuba increased from 213 to 338 arrobas. (Cf.: GRANMA, 21 February, 1984).

46. GRANMA, 21 February 1984. Around 3 million people participated in the work Sunday organized by the TUWCW and dedicated to the 68th anniversary of the Great October revolution and the upcoming 3rd Cuban Communist Party Congress. (Cf.: PRAVDA, 5 November, 1985).
47. GRANMA, 19 December, 1980.
48. GRANMA, 21, February, 1984.
49. GRANMA, 1 December, 1978; 19 December, 1980; 17 February 1984.
50. Lenin, V. I. Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy, Vol 37, p 452.

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ILO ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL LABOR MOVEMENTS NOTED

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[Article by B. N. Zharkov and B. G. Stolpovskiy: "Imagined and Real Problems of Labor in the Current World"]

[Text] In recent years, the activity of the International Labor Organization (ILO) has been subjected to acute criticism, both at its own various forums as well as in the circles of the broad international community, including the scientific. And the problem here is not merely in someone's ill will, as Jon Svenningsen, ILO Administrative Council member and secretary of the Central Organization of Danish Trade Unions, believes. The real reason is that the deep structural and political crisis of the ILO, which is so convincingly demonstrated in the well-known Declaration of Socialist Countries on their position in the Organization, does not allow it to fulfill its directive responsibilities in full measure. And how could this crisis not arise if both the conception and the structure of the ILO have not undergone any significant changes since the time of its inception in 1919? The creation of the ILO at that time was a social-reformist response to the victory of Great October and the development of the revolutionary movement. It was an effort to embody in practice the idea of application of class interests, cooperation of workers and entrepreneurs with the aid of the state. This concept found expression in the basic principle of the structure and activity of the ILO--the principle of three-sided representation, the direct participation in the organization by the representatives of the government, the employers, and the workers.

Despite the fact that the ILO adopted (particularly after the entry of the socialist countries into it in the 50's, and then of the developing states of progressive orientation) many conventions and recommendations which on the whole answered the interests of the workers or their trade unions, nevertheless this organization remains the most conservative institution in the UN system. The ILO in actuality ignores the fact that the socialist and developing countries have become its members. The above-mentioned declaration indicates with full substantiation that the ILO essentially serves the interests of only one, the capitalist, socio-political system, trying to impose its will and order on other states.

All this is reflected in the directive activity of the ILO--the development of international labor standards in the form of conventions and recommendations,

as well as in the character of technical aid rendered primarily to the developing countries and in the direction of research-publication work, particularly the scientific research undertaken in the 80's on current world labor problems. We are referring to the 4-volume series under the general title of "World Labor." The second volume was published in 1985, and devoted to the following problems: labor relations (trade unions, employer organizations, collective labor agreements); international trade standards concerning freedom of association, prohibition of forced labor and dismissal of workers; professional training; working conditions (duration of the work day, labor protection, inspection of labor and programs on the "quality of work life"), and finally women's labor.*

The first volume (1984) examined the state and evolution of the problems of employment and unemployment over a 20-year period, international migration of the work force, the tendency in the sphere of "politics of income" and wages, social security, as well as the effect of the latest technological changes on the employment level, working conditions, and labor relations.¹ The third volume, which is planned for publication in 1986, will be devoted to the current questions of wages. The fourth volume is still in the planning stages.

We cannot help but note that probably in the second as well as in the first volumes, the ILO experts decided to examine the above-mentioned problems in parallel by groups of countries--capitalist, socialist, and developing, and to consider in some degree the reality and differences of the two socio-economic systems. This forced the experts in a number of cases to reject the "general measures and to trace how a certain problem is resolved under specific conditions of a given system or country, to state the position more objectively, and to make more substantiated conclusions. Unlike the first volume in the series, the second volume makes an effort to show more broadly and objectively the experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. However, this time too the experts did not avoid a tendentious approach to reality. While allowing attacks against the socialist countries, they nevertheless keep quiet about many of the negative phenomena in the capitalist countries. Even when they are forced to examine the damaging effect of economic and structural crises of the 70's and early 80's, inflation, mass unemployment, capitalist "rationalization" of the living and working conditions in the zone of capitalism, the experts often avoid the obvious conclusions and evaluations, thereby ignoring the interests and demands of the workers and the trade unions.

F. Blanshar, general director of the International Bureau of Labor (IBL) set the tone in this respect in his foreword. He rightly noted that "in many parts of the world" the social situation and the labor conditions have deteriorated, and unemployment has risen sharply. There is not enough attention being given to the problems of social security and professional training. However, he saw the explanation for this not in the deep-seated problems which he overlooked in silence, i.e., not in the very nature and policies of state-monopolistic capitalism which strives to improve the conditions for reproduction of capital by means of increasing the exploitation of the work force, but merely in the deterioration of the economic situation and the shortage of resources. Blanshar calls for seeking the solution to the acute social problems by means of ensuring "long-term economic growth." An inevitable condition of this must become the ordering of the cooperation of the

"social partners" and their agreement on "feasible" "sacrifices in the name of economic development." It is by this means that the representatives of the ruling conservative circles of the USA, Great Britain, the FRG and other western countries justify their policy of "harsh economy," i.e., cutting back expenditures on social needs, freezing wages, accompanied by infringement on the rights of the trade unions.

An analogous approach from the standpoints of a "social partnership" in the analysis of the examined problems often deprives the authors of the study of the possibility of penetrating into the heart of the problems and leads to a damping of the true acuteness of the conflict situations which they present in regard to the organized forces of labor and capital. This is true primarily for those parts of the study which analyze the "labor relations" and the problems of "international labor standards" which are closely associated with them. In essence we are speaking here primarily of the position and role of the trade unions and the forms of their activity. An analysis of "labor relations," and to these the ILO experts relate all relations in the sphere of labor, is preceded by statistical data on the labor resources of the planet, designated by the term "labor force". It comprised, according to the ILO computations for 1980, 1800 million people. In the developed capitalist countries it was 341 million people, in the socialist countries--194 million, in Africa--170, in Latin America--117, in China--422, and in the rest of Asia--551 million people (p. 3). We may rightly expect that the ILO specialists use these computations to define the social-class composition of the economically active population. However, they avoid this and thereby impoverish the study.

Turning to an examination of the structure and dynamics of development of the world trade union movement as a whole, by groups of countries and by regions, the authors of the study accent their attention on the fact that in recent years in many countries there has been a reduction in the number of trade union members"as a result of the overall reduction of economic and structural shifts in the processing industry". This membership has dropped, for example, in Great Britain in 1980 by 3.7 percent, in 1981--by 5.9 percent, in the Netherlands and Sweden in 1981--by 4 percent, and in the FRG in the same year--by 2.5 percent (p. 9). No matter how serious this process observed in the trade union movement of the countries of the capitalist zone, the ILO experts are not inclined to draw from it the conclusion of a "crisis" in the world trade union movement or a decline of its role. Particularly since a phenomenon of another order has been observed in these same years. For example, in Denmark and Norway the membership in the national trade union centers has increased from year to year in 1980-1982. "The development of the trade union movement in the 20th Century shows," note the experts, "that periods of reduction or stagnation in the number of trade union members are followed by periods of growth." (p. 9)

Interesting data are presented in the book about the portion of workers organized in trade unions in percentages of the economically active population in the countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in the early 80's: 80-90 percent--Finland and Sweden; 70-80 percent--Denmark and Belgium; 60-70 percent--Austria, Luxemburg, and Norway; 50-60 percent--Australia, Ireland, Italy, and Great Britain; 40-50 percent--the FRG and New Zealand; 30-40 percent--Canada, Greece, Japan, the Netherlands, and Switzerland; 15-30 percent--France, Portugal, Spain, and the USA (p. 9). Citing these data, the ILO experts

express the opinion that the tendency toward reduction in the number of trade union members may increase in the next few years under the influence of demographic factors (decline in the birth rate), "banishment" of worker-immigrants from the countries of Western Europe. Among the factors hindering the growth of trade union membership they rightfully cite the presence in a number of countries of a large number of foreign, temporary, and part-time workers, as well as the insufficiently active role of the trade unions themselves in protecting the interests of the workers under crisis conditions. As concerns such a factor as the massed anti-trade union assault waged by the reactionary forces of state monopolistic capitalism along the entire front since the late 70's, the ILO experts have reduced it to a commonplace, although "prolonged opposition" to the trade unions on the part of only "certain employers" (p. 9). And this is despite the fact that such "opposition" has turned in most of the developed capitalist countries into a very real campaign of persecution of the trade unions. It has become, as confirmed by the research data of Soviet scientists, an important reason for the reduction in the number of workers organized in trade unions.²

The authors of the study also touch upon those significant changes which the structure of the trade union membership is undergoing. There has been a drop in the portion of organized workers in traditional sectors which at one time had mass employment (metallurgists, builders, miners, transport workers, etc.), but which due to structural stagnation have found themselves in a depressed state. However, there is an increase in the influx of "new groups of workers" into trade unions from the sphere of public services, and particularly of engineers and technologists, teachers and instructors, bank and insurance company employees and others. For the trade unions this is associated with additional difficulties, since the "new groups of workers" often avoid joining the trade unions or become members of "personnel associations." At the same time, we have noted a growing affinity of farm workers (particularly in the developing countries) and women towards unification in trade unions (p. 13).

In the 80's there has been observed a reduction in the number of trade union members, sometimes a significant reduction (in some countries of the Caribbean basin up to 20 percent) in the developing states. The number of workers covered by trade unions here remains low as before: 40-50 percent--Algiers and Tanzania (including the peasant trade unions); 30-40 percent--Argentina, Venezuela, Chile, Guiana, Ethiopia, Sri-Lanka, Singapore; 20-30 percent--Mexico, Columbia, Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, ARE [Arab Republic of Egypt], and Gabon; 10-20 percent--Brazil, Botswana, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Kenya, Malaysia, Nigeria, Panama, Peru, the Philippines, and Zambia; less than 10 percent--Bangladesh, Dominican Republic, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Nepal, Pakistan, Papua-New Guinea, Senegal, Sierra-Leone, Thailand, and Togo (p. 11). The list of reasons presented by the ILO experts for the low degree of organization of the workers in these countries includes both dispersion of the trade union movement and multiplicity of small trade union organizations. This statement, however, did not hinder them from drawing the conclusion that the trade union "pluralism" which they traditionally preach fully corresponds to Article 2 of the ILO Convention No 87 regarding freedom of association, which provides for the right of the workers to form trade unions and enter into them "by their own choice and without prior permission to do so." Yet at the same time the ILO

experts are practically up in arms against the fact that many of the developing Afro-Asian countries are eliminating the splintering of their trade unions by legislative means, proscribing a centralized structure by law. According to their logic, such actions are forcible acts and contradict Convention No 87, although they correspond to the interests of the workers and facilitate the development of the trade union movement in these countries. We can hardly agree with such logic of the ILO experts who are gratified by the voluntary reorganization of the trade union movement. The fact is that the latter is not always possible in the developing countries, and therefore the legislative restructuring of the trade union movement directed at its development is totally permissible. In our opinion, it does not contradict the above-mentioned convention.³

In examining the trade union activity and the means of its implementation, the ILO experts give much attention to collective agreements, which is only natural. However, they do this not to expose the essence of collective agreements as a means of the struggle of workers for their interests, but in order to interpret them one more time as the "competent instrument" of reconciling the interests of the workers and the employers on the basis of social compromise (p. 35).

Many years of practical experience in negotiations conducted with employers for the purpose of concluding collective agreements testify to the fact that the positions of the trade unions in the negotiations are most often strengthened when the latter are able to put pressure on the employers by means of a strike or a threat of its application. Thus, the collective agreement reflects the relation of forces of the parties at a definite stage of the class struggle. The desire of the ILO experts to prove the advantages of "peaceful" negotiations for working out collective agreements and the "cooperation" of the concluding parties often leads the experts to overestimating the achievements of collective agreement practice in the capitalist countries. Thus, in the examined volume they clearly exaggerate the data on the number of workers covered by collective agreements at the beginning of the 80's: over 90 percent--Belgium, Austria and Sweden; 90--FRG; 80--the Netherlands; 75--Great Britain and Norway; 65--Switzerland; 50--Finland; 45--France; 40--Canada; 30--USA; 25 percent--Japan (p. 36). The crisis happenings in the 80's, the reduction in the number of trade union members in many countries, the changes in the structure of the membership of trade union organizations, the infringement of state-monopolistic capital on the rights of the workers and the trade unions could not help but reduce the number of workers covered by collective agreements. This fact is also pointed out by certain bourgeois researchers (for example, in Great Britain).

ILO experts note certain tendencies in collective agreement practice. [These include] the broader application (with remaining predominance of sectorial agreements) of trilateral negotiations and all-national (central) collective agreements, i.e., with participation of the state. They isolate and heartily propagandize this type of negotiation and agreement, believing that it meets the requirements of "adaptation" of the collective agreements to the economic conditions which have arisen after the crisis of the mid-70's. All-national agreements concluded between trade unions and employers ("the government makes a decisive input into their development, even though it is not always an official party"--p. 42-43) are described in detail in the sectorial collective agreements.

The authors mention only in passing, as referring to specific cases, the practice of forcing upon the contracting parties, generally upon the trade unions, limitations on wages while they are increased in the collective agreement (in the FRG--the practice of "concerted action," in Japan--the trilateral "roundtable," in Austria--the activity of the National Committee on Prices and Wages). The authors also make an off-hand reference to the policy of "harsh economy" which is being implemented in the capitalist countries (p. 58), although its main purpose, as the trade unions believe, is to limit and subvert collective agreements. And yet this motivated the ILO experts to draw the serious conclusion regarding the departure in the capitalist countries from viewing collective agreements as being "free." They admit that the balance has changed between voluntarism and compulsion in concluding collective agreements (p. 43-44). The shift here is clearly in the direction of compulsion, although the study does not say so directly.

Other means of implementing the functions of the trade unions are examined rather schematically in the book. This relates specifically to the problems of participation in the management of production. We are sorry to see that insufficient attention is given to such a new form of worker participation in production management as the participation of the labor collectives developing in the USSR on the basis of the law dated 17 July, 1983 (although this law is mentioned in the work--p. 40). In our opinion, the problem of protecting the right to strike in capitalist countries also deserved more detailed examination. Touching upon the question of limitations on the right to strike which is accepted in most countries, the authors of the study point out the following: general or partial prohibitions for certain categories of workers, as well as depending on the character of the strikes; establishing prolonged and complex procedures for regulating the conflict prior to announcing the strike (p. 63); introducing binding arbitration, which is most often used in the developing countries (in the presence of binding arbitration, the right to strike exists, according to the testimony of the authors, "more in theory"--p. 51); prohibition or limitation of strikes in "socially vital services." Based on the false premise of "equal rights" of the "social partners," the ILO experts did not fail to touch upon the so-called right of the employers to lockouts. There is no need to prove that strikes and lockouts are phenomena which are not of the same order, and we should hardly "equate" the former with the latter. Trade unions everywhere speak out sharply against any lockouts--whether they are "offensive" ("cold"), "preventative" or in response to a strike. The experts want to demonstrate their equal attitude to the problems of the workers and the employers, but such "equation" runs counter to the spirit of the ILO Charter, and even counter to the very sense of its existence.

The number of complaints submitted to the ILO for infractions on labor union liberties has increased in the 80's. In 1979 there were 32 complaints, in 1980--66, in 1981--88, in 1982--70, and in 1983--76 complaints. In the course of the past 8 years, numerous infractions have been recorded in 73 countries, ranging from attacks on the freedom of association and liquidation of the trade unions to the arrest and murder of trade union leaders (p. 57-58). However, the very selection of these countries testifies to the tendentious nature of the ILO experts. Almost all the infractions of trade union rights which they have recorded were in the developing countries. It turns out that in the

leading imperialist states there are no or almost no such infractions either in practice or in legislation. Of the other countries, the strongest reproach is addressed to Greece, where the ratification of collective agreements by the authorities is mandatory, and New Zealand, where the law gives the authorities the right to deny the trade unions registration, with this denial not being subject to judicial appeal (p. 63). Another serious shortcoming of the analysis of the practice of infringement on the rights of the workers and the trade unions is that the experts have given preference to the abstract manner of clarifying the question of whether or not the formal-juridical requirements of the ILO trade union conventions are being fulfilled in a certain country. Here such significant changes are overlooked as the shift in the direction of conservatism in social policy occurring in the 80's, and the increasingly strict course toward "social disassembly," which has caused an acute reaction by the entire world trade union movement. (It is enough to recall, for example that 1980 was proclaimed by the World Federation of Trade Unions to be the Year of Protection of Trade Union Rights.) The gross infringements on trade union rights by the government of M. Thatcher in the course of the British miners' strike of 1984-1985 are passed over in silence. And only in one place did the experts "venture" to point out, and then only in general form, the "guilty party" responsible for the worsening of the situation for the trade unions, stating that "the present-day economic crisis has led in the developing countries as well as in the countries having an industrial market economy to significant limitations in the activity of the trade unions, and especially in the sphere of concluding collective agreements" (p. 58).

While viewing with satisfaction the authors' efforts to analyze the position and activity of the trade unions in the socialist countries, we nevertheless cannot help but express certain critical comments on how this effort was realized. Referring to the Leninist definition of the role of trade unions under socialism as a school of leadership, a school of economic management, and a school of communism, the authors rightly note "their specific role and place in socialist society" and the almost unanimous entry of the workers (94-98 percent) into the trade unions (p. 12). In the appropriate sections, they present a knowledgeable listing of the multi-faceted rights of the trade unions in the socialist countries in all spheres of public life, including in the sphere of planning and participation in the management of production, in the matter of reviewing labor disputes at enterprises, and in managing social security and insurance. It is also reported that they have the right to legislative initiative. In this connection, it is all the more annoying that, having extensive material at their disposal, the ILO experts seem to slide over it without taking the time to delve more deeply and without prejudice into the basic directions of trade union activity under conditions of socialism. They did not see the sources of their authority and influence, which stem from an unbreakable bond with all the workers and from their continued fulfillment of their vital functions. These functions consist of generally facilitating the growth of the national wealth, the improvement of the working, living and recreational conditions of the people, the protection of the rights and interests of the workers, the constant participation in communist upbringing of the masses and their involvement in the management of production and social matters.

In touching upon collective agreements, the experts rightly note that their mandatory conclusion at all enterprises in the socialist countries is prescribed by law and that for these countries there is a characteristic expansion of the circle of problems encompassed by collective agreements. Also correct is the fact that collective agreements concluded in socialist society differ from the collective agreements under conditions of capitalism (p. 37). However, it is a big mistake to reduce all the differences, as the ILO experts do, merely to certain peculiarities of the problems regulated by the collective agreements (including even those such as the shortage in the work force which sometimes occurs under conditions of socialism), all the while ignoring their main, principle difference from collective agreements under capitalism. This difference is determined by the socialist character of labor relations, which are relations of comradely cooperation in production of people who are free from exploitation, and by the absence of antagonistic interests in the parties involved in the labor relations.

A collective agreement which is concluded on this basis is a legal-political act voluntarily agreed to by the parties. It defines the legal and moral-political responsibilities for fulfilling plans, increasing production effectiveness and additional (over legislative) regulation of the conditions for labor and social services of the workers. It is understandable that under current conditions of accelerating the socio-economic development of society and the structural-technological reorganization, for example in the USSR, the role of collective agreements is increasing--both as an important form of participation of the labor collectives in the management of production, and as a means of local legal regulation of the labor conditions.

The lack of objectivity of the ILO experts in their approach to examining certain important problems in labor relations is also clearly evident in the following example. Having managed to somehow circumvent the scandalous events which took place in a number of the capitalist countries where strikes were suppressed in contradiction to the existing laws (for example, the communications workers strike in Great Britain and the air traffic controllers strike in the USA), they nevertheless included without any basis of fact "the countries of Eastern Europe with a centralized planned economy" in the group of countries who ignored the right to strike.

The workers in socialist countries express their solidarity with the strike demonstrations of trade unions in the capitalist countries, where strikes are often the only means of protecting the interests of the working class. However, the strike never has been and can never be such a means in socialist society, where the working class is the ruler and there are no antagonistic contradictions. Here the trade unions implement their protective function by other means and methods than under capitalism. The experts, who have extensive information from the socialist countries, must surely know this.

If the ILO experts had wanted to reflect reality, they would have noted that in almost all the socialist countries the trade unions see no need for strikes and that they have sufficient other capacities and effective means to exert pressure, if need be, on the administration of enterprises for the protection of the rights and interests of the workers. In the USSR, for example, no one can be fired from

their job at the initiative of the administration without prior agreement of the trade union. Trade union organizations give sanctions to the solution of numerous questions regarding labor conditions, implement control over how labor legislation is being carried out, resolve labor disputes at enterprises, and have the right to demand and achieve the dismissal of any administrator who commits serious infraction against labor legislation and collective agreements. Labor disputes and differences between the trade union committees and the enterprise administration are resolved in accordance with the republic labor codes (for example, RSFSR Codex of Labor Legislation, pp 223-224) in a conciliatory manner between the superior trade unions and administrative-management organs. Therefore, the representatives of Soviet trade unions state with full justification that there is no need to secure the right to strike in the USSR legislation. Obviously, every socialist country solves this question independently and in its own way.

As we may conclude from the facts presented by the experts in their study, the rights and functions of the trade unions under conditions of socialism are so broad and multifaceted that it is extremely illogical to list the "countries of Eastern Europe with a centralized planned economy" among those which "limit the right of the workers to freely found their own organizations (p. 62). Such a distortion of the facts is found in several of the chapters in the study, as for example in Chapter 5. The first section of this chapter presents rich factual material which convincingly shows the existence of forced labor in the capitalist countries. However, the experts could not avoid the temptation of "balancing" this accusatory material with a reference to the fact that supposedly in the USSR it is also possible to force those who lead a parasitic way of life to work (p. 68). But how does this relate to "forced labor?" We are speaking here of the constitutional responsibility of all able-bodied citizens to engage in socially beneficial labor, as reflected in the humane principles of socialism.

The following peculiarity of the ILO study is also apparent. While presenting numerous data on the position of a certain sphere of labor relations in the capitalist, socialist and developing countries, the experts avoid an in-depth social analysis, particularly if the singular advantage of socialist labor relations becomes apparent. Thus, in examining the problems associated with the cessation of hiring and firing of workers, they seemingly correctly presented the standards and order existing in the USSR and other socialist countries. However, they left out the most important thing. The noted standards and order are principally different from the corresponding legislative standards in the capitalist countries. They are legal guarantees of the right to labor. They ensure the stability of employment and place the administration's right to fire workers under full state and public control.

The experts' approach to the problem of professional training is analogous. It is true that they cited much interesting material and to some degree considered the new tendencies associated with the introduction of microprocessor based technology, and acquainted the reader with the experience of the USSR and other socialist countries in the sphere of personnel training. And yet in their illumination of this problem as well the experts did not show those differences which occur in the practice of countries belonging to different socio-economic systems. They preferred not to notice, for example, the practice of cutting

appropriations for education and vocational training in the countries of the capitalist zone. In the USA this has led in the last 10 years to the closure of 157 institutions of higher learning and 3,456 general education schools.

The chapter on "quality of work life", in our opinion, suffers from this shortcoming. Data are presented on the new forms of labor organization: rotation of workers, semi-autonomous work brigades, "seals of quality." At the same time, no indication is made of the principle difference of such forms of labor organization as the work brigades in the USSR and other socialist countries (p. 192). Nevertheless, it is well known that the above-mentioned forms of labor organization in the capitalist countries are widely used for strengthening control over the workers, for intensification of labor leading to overloads, and for weakening the influence of the trade unions. It is no wonder that the trade unions often speak out against them in the USA and Canada, being particularly fearful of the subversion of collective agreements (p. 196).

Among other problems, the experts examined in detail the problems of work time and vacations. They predict that the process of reducing the work time which has begun will continue. The 5-week vacation will become more widespread, and the role of collective agreements in relation to regulating work time will increase. The supposition is expressed that there will be an increased departure from the traditional regimens of the work day and the work week, and that "flexible" and "consolidated" work day regimens will become more widespread (p. 159, 162). These are used, as we know, under capitalism for strengthening the exploitation of the workers and are often therefore rejected by the trade unions (for example, in France).

We cannot overlook the fact that the ILO experts do not acknowledge the goal of reducing work time under conditions of capitalism to be increased employment, although this is the goal primarily set by the trade unions. We will note that in the decisions of the 5th Congress of the European Confederation of Trade Unions (Milan, May 1985) the reduction of the work week was viewed as the most important means in "distributing work time" and increasing employment.

In summarizing the impressions and conclusions drawn from the analysis of the second volume of the ILO study "World Labor", we must first of all note the extensive work performed in gathering and systematizing materials on the various aspects of labor relations in the capitalist, socialist and developing countries. Probably for the first time within the framework of the ILO the effort was made to illuminate in a problem-oriented manner the real position by groups of states belonging to different socio-economic systems. As we saw, the experts were not able or did not want to take the position of objective researchers on all matters. As regrettable as this is, the monograph blindly copies the negative directions of the ILO and the leaders of its secretariat in regard to the developing, and especially the socialist countries. They are clearly striving to use this specialized institution of the UN in the interests of only one, the capitalist, socio-political system and do not acknowledge the realities of socialism, constantly trying to cast a shadow over the realities and social achievements in the socialist countries. And yet we cannot help but notice glimmers of something new in the ILO study.

What is new, in our opinion, is the fact that this time the group of ILO experts charged with producing the multi-volume study in a number of cases made efforts to depart from the clearly non-objective, prejudicial evaluations and approach in relation to the USSR and the other socialist countries. A number of factors played a role in this. One was the broader application of primary sources, works by specialists and trade union leaders in the countries of the socialist alliance. Another, and most important factor, was that it is becoming impossible today to ignore the achievements of the socialist countries in the sphere of social policy. These undisputed achievements are too widely known to remain unnoticed, following the course of the conservative forces in the ILO.

We may only hope that in the subsequent volumes of the ILO publication "World Labor" the experts will show more courage and less constraint and will give a strictly scientific description and analysis of labor problems with consideration for the peculiarities and character of the socio-political systems to which the respective countries belong. In conclusion we must stress the fact that the examined volume of the study undertaken by the ILO is a generalized work from which the reader will glean useful information and will become familiar with the level of research on labor relations in the International Labor Organization, its merits and shortcomings.

FOOTNOTES

- * World Labour Report. ILO, Geneva, 1985, Vol 2.
- 1. World Labour Report. ILO, Geneva, 1984, Vol 1 (cf. review in the book: "Ekonomicheskoye razvitiye, sotsial'nyye protsessy i rabochiy klass" [Economic Development, Social Processes and the Working Class], M., 1985, p 207-222).
- 2. Cf.: "Profsoyuzy i problemy sotsialno-ekonomicheskoy borby proletariata" [Trade Unions and Problems of the Socio-Economic Struggle of the Proletariat] M., 1985.
- 3. Cf.: Zharkov, B. N. "Prava i rol profsoyuzov v razvivayushchikhsya stranakh Azii i Afriki" [The Rights and Role of the Trade Unions in the Developing Countries of Asia and Africa] M., 1975.

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BOOK ON HISTORIOGRAPHY, IDEOLOGY OF CHINESE REVOLUTION REVIEWED

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[Review by L. P. Delyusin of book "Iz istorii ideynoy borby i kitayskom revo-lyutSIONNOM dvizheniy 20-40-x godov" [From the History of the Ideological Struggle in the Chinese Revolutionary Movement of the 20's-40's] by A. V. Pantsov, Moscow, "Nauka", 1985, 116 p.]

[Text] In this short book, the author raises important problems whose objective study helps to explain and understand the peculiarities of development of the Chinese Communist Party and its policies in the period of the national-liberation struggle as well as at the stage of transition to socialist construction. The author concentrates attention on the questions of interaction of the social environment and the CPC in the 20's-40's. This is very regular, since it was specifically at that time that the ideology of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party was being formulated, experience was being obtained, methods and means of policy and the ideological-political struggle were being honed and tested--the struggle within the CPC as well as its struggle with its class enemies.

The above defines the great scientific and political significance of the monograph under review.

The book is written on the basis of an in-depth and thorough analysis of a large number of sources and literature in Russian, Chinese and English. Certain vital materials in Japanese, French and German are also used. The work is filled with various factual material, part of which is being brought into scientific use for the first time. A. V. Pantsov uses a rather broad circle of periodical publications--from the central soviet CPC of various years, from the central soviet newspapers and journals to little-known, and sometimes even totally forgotten publications of international educational institutions in the USSR where Chinese revolutionaries studied.

Many of the questions which A. V. Pantsov touches upon were controversial in the period being studied, and are still debatable to this day. One of them is the determination of the character of China's social-class structure. Based on the results of Soviet monographic studies in this sphere of Chinese studies, the author rightfully notes that on the whole in the 20's-40's the "social structure of China was just beginning to evolve in the direction of capitalism"

(p. 17). Purely capitalistic relations had not yet been formed either in industry or in agriculture. As a result, it is absolutely impossible to apply the terms reflecting the socio-economic situation of the developed western countries of that time, or even of pre-Octoberist Russia, to the Chinese conditions. The trouble was that the Chinese communists had no other terms, while the application of the customary, traditional marxist categories did not facilitate the definition and understanding of the arrangement of class forces and the character of social contradictions.

However, new terms which would reflect the peculiarities of the social groups of the semi-feudal, semi-colonial Chinese society with strict objectivity, as A. V. Pantsov rightly stresses, have not been worked out even to this day. As a result of this, naturally, Chinese historians continue to translate loan words from the class relations of the more developed countries and apply them to backward China. We may find evidence of this fact even in recent works. In the article entitled "On the Question of the Class Nature of Chinese Peasantry in the Period of New History", Lu Yo cites the three different definitions of the main portion of the peasantry in former China as used in current Chinese literature: either serfs, or rural bourgeoisie, or rural proletariat. He himself, like most of the authors of the PRC, tends to believe that the main mass of the rural population should be related to the petty bourgeoisie, which unlike the small-scale peasantry in the European countries and Russia had a great revolutionary potential.¹

The characteristics of the level of development of Chinese society in the 20's-40's has a direct relation to the formulation by the Chinese communists together with the Comintern representatives of such political and socio-economic requirements which would excite and move the working masses and lift them to the revolutionary struggle. The book under review devotes much space to the illumination of this problem. A. V. Pantsov tries to clarify which social strata's interests and feelings had the greatest effect on the forms and methods of political activity of the Chinese communists. In this connection, the author isolates five main types of given interests and social feelings: the lumpen-proletarian, the poor-pauper's, the patriarchal-peasant, the petty bourgeois—"kulak" and the proletarian. This has important significance for understanding the sources and essence of the ideological-political struggle in the party which has been developing over the duration of the entire first half of the 20th Century and which represents, undoubtedly, a new word in sinology.

At the same time, however, the author in our opinion somewhat exaggerates the effect of the lumpen-proletarian psychology on the Communist Party of China. We may speak only of a certain influence of the lumpen-proletarian interests and feelings on individual leaders of the CPC, particularly in the period of exacerbation and fervor of the political passions after the defeat in the revolution of 1925-1927. On the whole, however, we cannot consider the author's conclusion regarding the "notable" effect of these interests and feelings on the CPC for the duration of the entire 20-40's to be correct. Nor can we consider correct his statements regarding the increased influence of the psychology of the patriarchal peasantry on the CPC in the second half of the 30's.

¹ Cf.: TSZINDAY SHI YANTSZYU, 1984, No 4, p 1-32.

In speaking of the peasant or lumpen-proletarian influence on the CPC, we cannot fail to mention also that the CPC in its turn subordinated the peasant masses under its control and, considering the low level of their cultural and political development, tried to educate them by means of various forms and methods and increase their class consciousness. The monograph also discusses this point. Even with a certain influence of the rural environment on the CPC, the latter, despite the tendency on the part of some of its leading workers to underestimate the significance of ideological training work, on the whole always ascribed great importance to theoretical instruction on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the training of personnel who were convinced of the possibility and necessity of building a socialist society in China. With the most varied shifts and changes in defining the current political tasks, the ultimate goal--socialism--remained unchanged, although the specific notions regarding the forms of socialist life were not always sufficiently clear and definite in everyone's mind. At the concluding stage of the revolutionary war, the CPC leadership expanded a broad campaign against so-called peasant socialism, i.e., against the efforts of a certain part of the cadre workers to mechanically transfer to the cities those methods which they had successfully used in rural areas.

Most interesting materials are presented in the book regarding the influence which the following important factors had on the psychology of CPC leaders and cadre workers, on their methods and their style of work. The first factor was the practical merging (combination) of the party and military leadership, which was dictated by the specifics of the revolutionary movement in China. Secondly, there was the circumstance that beginning with the 20's the CPC had been a party which implemented practical authority over the territory which it controlled. Here it issued laws, collected taxes, implemented administrative control, all under conditions of being surrounded by enemies. Unfortunately the author deals only briefly with the study of these problems.

The book under review convincingly demonstrates that the political consciousness of the working class in China in the studied period was not so greatly developed as to allow it to have a serious effect on the policy of the CPC. This historically determined shortcoming was augmented by those ideological and political ties which the communist party had with the Comintern, thanks to which its leaders had favorable opportunities for getting to know Marxist-Leninist theory and the revolutionary experience of other countries, primarily Soviet Russia, the USSR. Naturally, the help of the Comintern could not fully smooth out the effect of the ideological oscillations of individual CPC leaders. Prior to their departure from the cities, the communist party leaders generally suffered from leftist attitudes, which were not overcome even after relocation to the rural area and which made themselves known during implementation of the socio-economic transformations in the Soviet regions, when there were quite a few errors. However, in the 40's the CPC leaders were able to draw the proper lessons from their defeats, errors and misfortunes, and were able to work out such a political program and find such methods of revolutionary struggle which would ultimately ensure the victory of the people's revolution in 1949. The book clearly illustrates the role of the Comintern, which helped the CPC overcome the negative moments in its activity and facilitated the theoretical

training of the active party leadership. This helped the Chinese communists become an important political force in the country in the years of the war with Japan, and then to achieve victory over the Koumintang reactionaries.

The effect of the pre-capitalist social strata on the Communist Party of China was obviously implemented at different levels and expressed in different forms. The author correctly associates the expansion of the base for the intra-party struggle with the circumstance that the growth in the ranks of the CPC took place due to persons coming from the non-proletarian strata. We must also agree with him when he notes that the proletarization of the leadership and rank and file of the communist party which was artificially conducted in the late 20's did not narrow the framework of the ideological-political struggle. After all, the general replacement of intelligentsia with representatives of the working class did not indicate a true proletarization of the CPC and gave rise to a new flare-up of leftist adventurist sentiments, which was especially clearly manifested in the "lilisan movement" (cf. p 36-39).

At the same time, despite all the shortcomings in the activity of the CPC, as well as the objective complexities influencing its construction in the 20's-40's, it is incorrect, in our opinion, to say that in this period the party (as the author believes) "took on a number of traits of a traditional organization of the eastern type" (p. 63). Obviously, the mass base of the party in those years was significantly expanded by the peasantry, but this was specifically its achievement which largely ensured its victory. Of course, there were various fractions and groups within the CPC, but this did not hinder it from acting as a unified cohesive political organization in the struggle against its enemies.

The effect of a social environment which was quite different from the West European or Russian, could not help but be expressed in the perceptions of the basic positions of Marxist-Leninist teachings by the Chinese communists. Attracted by the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism, by the ideas and slogans of the October Revolution, the first Chinese communists sincerely wanted to apply them within the shortest possible time to the solution of their country's national and social problems. However, they did not always adequately recognize the essence of these problems and, most importantly, burning with impatience, they were in no condition to give a correct and realistic evaluation of the objective and subjective prerequisites of the revolutionary process. They could not determine the degree of political consciousness of those social forces on which they rested in their struggle for national and social liberation of China, their degree of organization and their readiness for decisive action and struggle for implementation of the slogans presented by the CPC. Thoroughly analyzing the peculiarities of the varying ideological influence of the social environment on the Chinese Communist Party, the author rightly notes that the traditional notions of peace, morality and ethics had a significant effect on the various strata of Chinese society (p. 78).

The specific peculiarities in the way in which Chinese communists perceive Marxist-Leninist theory, and primarily the Leninist conception of the national-colonial revolution, as examined in the work also deserve our attention. In this connection we cannot overlook the comparative analysis of Chinese translations of documents from the Second Comintern Congress on national and colonial

questions, which A. V. Pantsov performs so skillfully. The author needed this analysis in order to demonstrate more clearly the inadequate of the translations of the vital Marxist documents called upon to determine the strategy and tactics of the communist movement in China.

The author of this book chose the task of demonstrating only a few factors influencing the character, content and form of the ideological struggle in the CPC. In the course of his study, he made many interesting observations and conclusions which evoke new speculations on the peculiarities of the spread of Marxist-Leninist teachings in the underdeveloped countries and on the unique processes of formation of communist parties in these countries.

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